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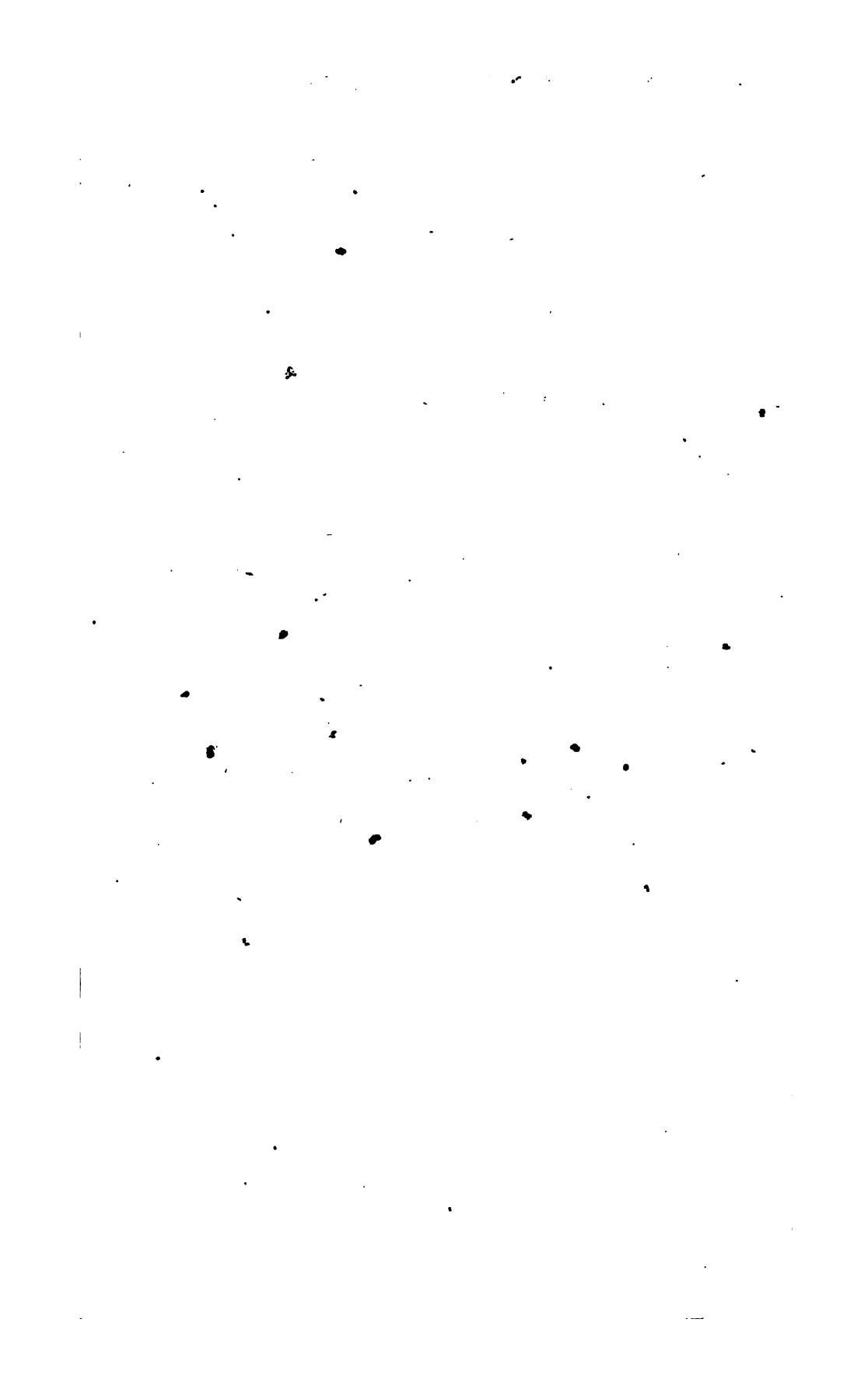
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A CHRONOLOGICAL ABRIDGMENT  
OF  
**The History**  
OF  
**GREAT BRITAIN,**  
FROM THE FIRST INVASION OF THE ROMANS  
TO THE YEAR 1763.

WITH  
*GENEALOGICAL AND POLITICAL TABLES.*

DEDICATED WITH PERMISSION TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

**THE PRINCE REGENT.**

---

BY  
**ANT. FR. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE,**  
LATE MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE IN FRANCE UNDER THE  
REIGN OF LOUIS XVI.

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Non criticorum more, in laude et censura tempus teratur,  
sed planè historicè res ipsæ narrentur, judicium parcius inter-  
ponatur.

BACON. DE AUGM. LIB. II. c. 4.

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## PRELIMINARY NOTE.

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THE PLAN OF THIS WORK is nearly the same as that of the Chronological Abridgments of the History of France, by the President Henault, and of the History of Germany, by Mr. Pfeffel; the utility of which is so generally acknowledged all over Europe, that there is no historical work so frequently reprinted, nor a library of any consequence where they are not to be found. Such abridgments have been made of the histories of all the principal states of Europe, England alone excepted; but they are far inferior to those of President Henault and of Mr. Pfeffel, the particular merit of which consists in affording the easiest means of immediately finding the date and principal circumstances of the most remarkable events that have occurred at any period. It must, however, be confessed, that in President Henault's work, the accounts relating to the history of France are so continually blended, even in the same paragraphs, with the events that occurred in other countries, and which have no connection at all with one another, that after the perusal of a few pages, the reader's attention never fails to be tired by incoherency and confusion; for which reason the book is considered merely as an accurate repertory of facts and dates, only fit to be occasionally consulted.

Mr. Pfeffel, adopting in his Abridgment of the History of Germany the plan of President Henault, has improved it by passing over in silence all foreign

events unconnected with the History of Germany, which he has thus rendered interesting as well as instructive. But his not mentioning many important cotemporary occurrences, nor even their date, makes it necessary to recur to other books, and particularly to that of President Henault, to supply the deficiency.

In order to unite in this Abridgment the advantages of the two, the History of England, from the first invasion of the Romans to the present reign, is divided into nine periods: each of these is terminated by general observations on the progress, changes, and improvements in the constitution, government, laws, &c. &c. and by references to the historical works and documents, containing the proof of the principal facts and events of the different reigns included in each period. Then follows an appendix, consisting of a chronological list, in several columns, of the cotemporary sovereigns and illustrious men of Europe, with the date of their death; and of a succinct account of the most remarkable events that have occurred during the same period in all the other states of Europe, the dates of which are placed in the margin. The division into periods I consider as the best means of facilitating the use of that artificial memory, by which certain ideas being once connected in the mind with certain numbers or figures, produce a simultaneous recollection.

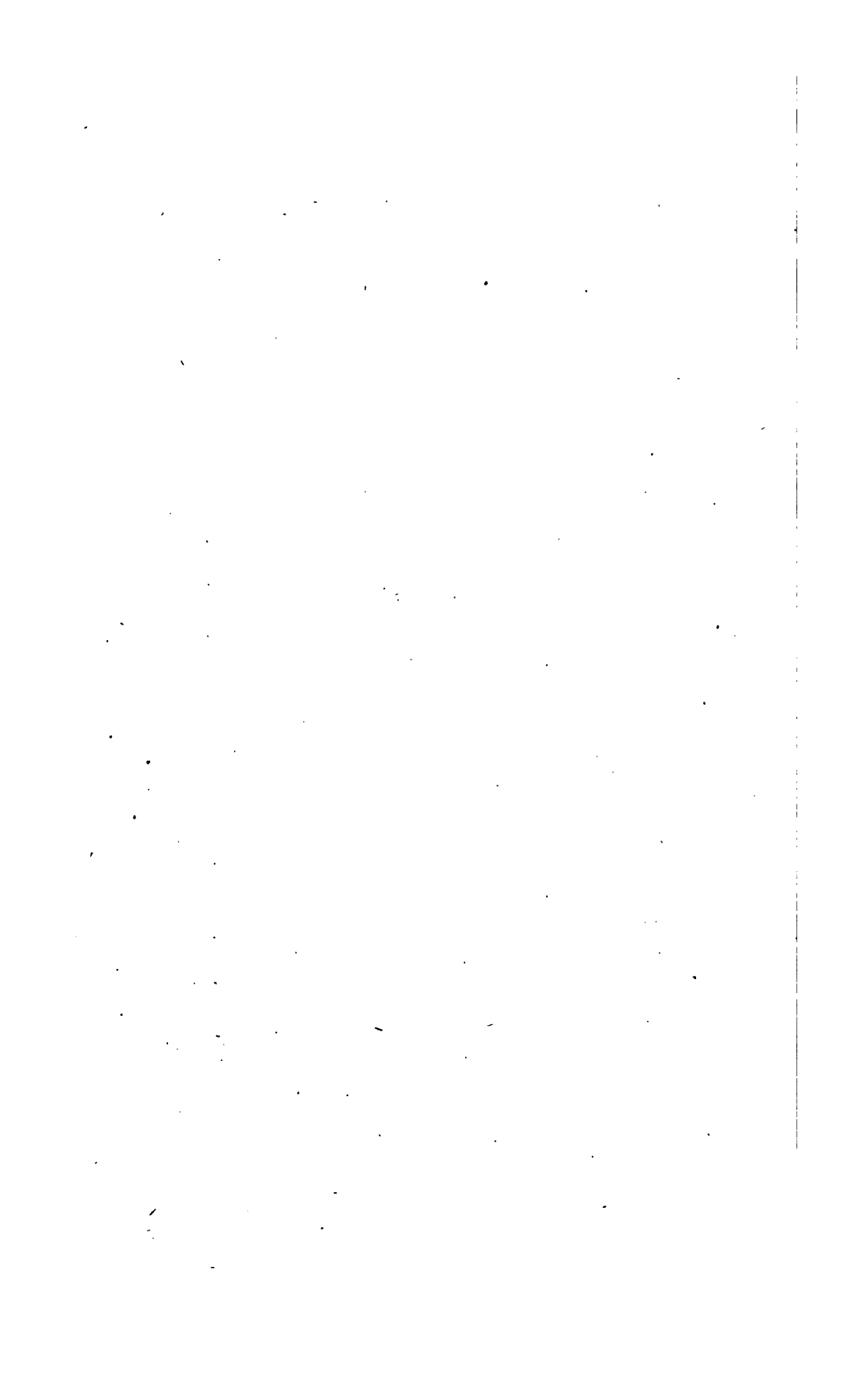
There will be also at the end of the last volume an alphabetical Index of all the proper names mentioned in the work, which will serve as an historical dictionary of facts and anecdotes.

Having adopted this plan, I have again and again perused the most esteemed historians, particularly Rapin Thoyras, Hume, and Dr. Henry, and ascertained the accuracy of many of their authorities, selecting the facts which appeared to me the most interesting and the best supported, and rejecting all

suppositions and probabilities grounded on private opinion or party prejudice.

To confute all the errors which I have found in those historians, would exceed the limits of an abridgment; I have therefore generally confined myself to giving an exact account of the facts erroneously stated by them. With a less strict adherence to truth, I could easily have softened the dryness commonly attending all abridgments, by introducing many entertaining anecdotes more or less probable, though equally destitute of proof; but the only object of my endeavours and researches has been to collect in this work all the important and curious occurrences which may be found in any other History of England, and which I have been able to ascertain. If I have involuntarily omitted any of that description, I shall take it as a favour of all learned readers, if they will have the kindness to point them out to me. I shall receive with like gratitude all private or public criticisms from the able reviewers of this country; as the necessary consequence will be, the improvement, not only of the next edition of this work, but of a compressed abridgment of it, intended for the use of schools, to which I have annexed a particular method of teaching history, by the best means, in my opinion, to prevent its being forgotten; as, instead of the childish and troublesome task of learning it by rote, youth will be enabled to engrave it on their memory by the easiest exertion of their own reflection and reasoning.

This second Abridgment, in one volume, will be put to press immediately after the publication of the present work.



A  
CHRONOLOGICAL ABRIDGMENT  
OF THE  
*HISTORY*  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN.

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*PERIOD THE FIRST,*  
FROM THE FIRST EXPEDITION OF JULIUS CÆSAR IN BRITAIN  
TO ITS INVASION BY THE SAXONS.

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INTRODUCTION.

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GREAT BRITAIN probably derived its name from that of *Briths* given to its first inhabitants, who, like the Celtæ settled in the part of the Gauls called Armorica, had adopted the custom of painting their shields and the naked part of their bodies with an azure, or blue, called in the Celtic language *brith*; which being given to the nation, or to the country, was translated by the Romans by the names of *Britanni*, *Britannia*.

According to the express testimony of Cæsar, the inhabitants of Britain came originally from Gaul. "The sea-coast of Britain," says he, (lib. v. cap. x.) "is peopled with Belgians, drawn thither by the lure of war and plunder. These last, passing over from different parts, and settling in the



“ country, still retain the names of the several “ states from whence they were descended.” They lived in huts thatched with straw, and kept great herds of cattle; they sowed corn, but chiefly subsisted on milk, vegetables, and animal food, often procured by the chase. Their clothes were the skins of beasts; but their arms, legs, and thighs were left naked, and painted blue, representing the figures of animals of all kinds. Their long hair flowed down upon their backs, while their beard was shaved except upon the upper lip.

In the year 55 before Christ, Britain was divided into thirty-eight small kingdoms or principalities, each composed of several tribes or clanships. The principal prerogative of their chieftains, or kings, was that of commanding the forces of their respective states in the time of war; and the queens, as well as the kings, always executed this office in person. In concluding peace, as in declaring war, they were obliged to pay regard to the advice and inclinations of their nobles, and, above all, of the Druids, who, in those days of ignorance being the only priests of the country, could not but possess great authority among that rude and turbulent people, and maintained it by the terrors of superstition.

In imminent dangers, several of those kingdoms or principalities united under a commander in chief chosen from among their princes, and to him was committed the management of the general interest, the power of making peace or leading to war. The authority then enjoyed by these sovereigns was almost reduced to nothing in the time of peace, as they had no part in the legislative or executive power, which was vested entirely in the hands of the Druids; as among the Britons, and a great part of the Gauls, at that period, the laws were not considered as the decrees of their princes, but as the commands of their gods; and the Druids being considered as the

only persons to whom the gods communicated their commands, were alone entitled to declare and explain them to the people. Thus the violations of the laws were considered only as sins against Heaven; for which the Druids, as its ministers, had alone the right of taking vengeance, and they were not under the necessity of calling in the assistance of the secular arm to execute their sentence, but inflicted themselves, with their own hands, stripes, and even death, on those whom they had condemned.

The Druids alone were also in possession of teaching the principles and performing the offices of religion among the ancient Britons. "So great" was the veneration in which they were held," says Diodorus Siculus, (l. v. § 31.) "that when two" hostile armies inflamed with warlike rage were" on the point of engaging in battle, at the Druids' intervention they sheathed their swords, and became calm and peaceful." The etymology of their name is derived by some writers either from a Greek, or from a Celtic or British word, which have all nearly the same sound, and signify an *oak*, for which the Druids had the most superstitious veneration.

The Druids were divided into three different classes; the *Bards*, who were the heroic, historical, and genealogical poets, and did not properly belong, like the two other classes, to the priestly order; the *Vates*, or *Faids*, who were the sacred musicians, the religious poets, and the pretended prophets; and the Druids: as these last performed all the other offices of religion, and were by far the most numerous class, the whole order was commonly called by that name. They were subject to one supreme chief, called Arch-Druid; that of Brittany resided at Anglesey, where he lived in great splendour and magnificence. They had many temples, the service of which required a great num-

ber of Druids, who lived together near them, united in fraternities, as says Marcellinus; but many others led a more secular and public way of life in the courts of princes and families of powerful men, to perform the religious duties. Some of the ancients among them sequestered from their brethren, to acquire a greater reputation of sanctity, and lived as hermits in the most unfrequented places; and there still remain in the western islands of Scotland the foundations of small circular houses, capable of containing only one person, and called by the people of the country Druids' houses. As to their revenue, besides a great part of the offerings presented to their gods, and the profits they derived from the practice of physic, teaching the sciences, and the administration of justice, they received great emoluments from those they instructed in the principles and initiated into the mysteries of their theology. There were likewise certain annual dues which the Druids of every temple exacted from all the families of its district. To secure the punctual payment of these dues, they obliged every family to extinguish their fires on the last evening of October, under the dreadful penalties of excommunication, and to attend at the temple on the first day of November with their annual payment, to receive some of the sacred fire from the altar to rekindle those in their houses, or else they were deprived of the use of fire; and if any of their friends attempted to supply them with it, or even conversed with them, they were laid under the same excommunication, by which they were excluded not only from all the sacred solemnities, but from all the sweets of society and the protection of law and justice. From these sources of wealth it may be concluded that the British Druids were the most opulent, as well as the most respected body of men in their country in the time in which they flourished; and

they bore nearly as great a proportion in numbers to the rest of the people as the clergy in Catholic countries bear to the laity.

The Britons had also Druidesses, who assisted in the offices, and shared in the honours and emoluments of the priesthood. They were also divided into three classes; those of the first vowed perpetual virginity, and lived together in sisterhoods, sequestered from the world. They were great pretenders to divination, prophecy, and miracles, and highly venerated by the people. The second class consisted of certain female devotees, who, though married, spent the greatest part of their time in the company of the Druids, or in the offices of religion, and conversed occasionally with their husbands. The third class was the lowest, and performed the most servile offices about the temples, the sacrifices, and the personal service of the Druids.

The Druids had two sets of religious doctrines and opinions, very different from each other. The one was communicated only to the initiated, who were admitted into their order, and solemnly sworn at their admission to keep that set of doctrines a profound secret from all the rest of mankind; they were the same as those professed by the Brachmans of India, the Magi of Persia, the Chaldeans, and all other priests of antiquity. Such a similitude, or rather identity, amounts to a demonstration, that all those doctrines flowed originally from one fountain, the instructions given by the sons of Noah to their descendants, and more or less accurately transmitted by the latter to their posterity. The other system of religious doctrines was made public, being adapted to the capacities and superstitious dispositions of the people, and calculated to promote the honour and opulence of the priesthood. Thus the secret doctrines were more agreeable to primitive tradition and right reason, while the public ones were the sources

of idolatry and heathenism. The most sacred solemnity of the Druids, the cutting of the mistletoe from the oak by the Arch-Druid, towards the 10th of March, which was their New Year's Day, is thus described by Pliny (Hist. Nat. l. xvi. cap. 44):

“ They go with great pomp and ceremony on a certain day to gather it. When they have got every thing in readiness under the oak, both for the sacrifice and the banquet which they make on this great festival, they begin by tying two white bulls to it by the horns. Then one of the Druids, clothed in white, mounts the tree, and with a knife of gold cuts the mistletoe, which is received in a white sagum. This done, they proceed to their sacrifices and feastings.”

On some great occasions the Druids offered human victims to their gods. They formed with osier twigs a colossal figure of a man, and having filled it with human victims, they surrounded it with combustible materials, set fire to the pile, and reduced it to ashes. For this abominable purpose they are said to have preferred criminals; but when there was a scarcity of them, they made no scruple to supply their place with innocent persons. These dreadful sacrifices were offered at the eve of a war, or in time of any national calamity, and even for particular persons of high rank afflicted with any dangerous disease. Besides the barbarous penalties which the Druids were allowed to inflict in this world, they professed the eternal transmigration of souls, and thus extended their authority as far as the fears of their votaries.

The Supreme Being was worshipped by the Britons, as by the Gauls, under the name of *Hesus*, a word expressive of his omnipotence, as *Hizzus* is in the Hebrew (Psal. xxiv. v. 8.), and under the name of *Teutates*, evidently composed of the two British words *Deu-tatt*, which signify *God the parent or*

*creator*. But when these nations sunk into idolatry, they degraded Teutatés into the sovereign of the infernal world; and the thunder, which they had previously considered as the voice of the Supreme Being, was worshipped under the name of Taranis. The sun and moon, under various names, were also the objects of their idolatry, as well as many victorious princes, wise legislators, inventors of useful arts, &c. &c. such as Saturn, Jupiter, Mercury, and the other princes and princesses of the royal family of the Titans, who reigned with so much lustre both in Asia and Europe in the patriarchal ages. (Martin's Description of the Western Isles, p. 365.) They belonged to the Celtæ by their birth; they were sovereigns of the Celtic tribes; and their names in the Celtic language were expressive of their different characters. Thence it may be naturally deduced, that the Greeks and the Romans, who, as it is stated by Dionysius Halicarnassus (lib. vii.), had a great propensity to adopt the gods and religious ceremonies of other nations, had adopted the gods of the Celtæ.

*Anno 55 before the Christian æra.*

Julius Cæsar, having overrun all Gaul by his victories, was prompted by ambition to make an invasion of Britain. Besides the information he procured from the merchants who had visited that island, he despatched C. Volusenus, to obtain a more particular account of it. In the mean time he assembled his army on the opposite shore, and collected a large fleet, that all things might be ready for his embarkation as soon as Volusenus returned.

The Britons having received notice of the impending storm, endeavoured to prevent it by sending ambassadors to make their submissions to the authority of Rome, and to offer hostages for their

fidelity. Cæsar exhorted them to continue in those dispositions, and sent them back with Comius, one of his generals, to whom he gave instructions to visit as many of the British states as he could, to persuade them to enter into an alliance with the Romans, and to inform them that Cæsar intended to come over in person to their island as soon as possible. (Cæsar, l. iv. c. 18, 19, &c.)

Volusenus being returned, Cæsar sailed with the infantry of two legions on the 26th of August 55, at one in the morning, and reached the coast of Britain, near Dover, at ten in the forenoon of the same day; some accident prevented his cavalry from sailing till four days after. Cæsar observing all the cliffs along the shore covered with troops, sailed eight miles farther, and after some resistance landed near Deal, and obtained immediately several advantages over the Britons, who, discouraged by the ill success of their effort, released Comius from the prison where they had confined him, and sent him with their ambassadors to Cæsar, to profess an entire submission to his commands, and offer hostages as a security. Peace was concluded on these conditions on the fourth day after Cæsar's landing in Britain. On that very day the transports with the Roman cavalry sailed with a gentle gale; but when they approached the British shore, a violent storm obliged them to put back into different ports of the continent, and dashed to pieces those which lay at anchor in the road where Cæsar had disembarked.

The Britons secretly rejoiced at this disaster, and observing the small number of the Romans, who had neither corn, cavalry, nor ships, they began to entertain the most sanguine hopes of being able to destroy this little army. They repaired accordingly to their respective states, soon collected a numerous army, and coming back unexpectedly, with a great

multitude of cavalry and chariots, rushed upon the soldiers of the seventh legion as they were foraging, killed some of them, surrounded the rest, and prepared to cut them in pieces, when they were delivered by the vigilance and activity of their general.

Cæsar, contented with this success, and not thinking it prudent to bring on immediately a general engagement, led back the legions to the camp. The Britons sent messengers all over the country to get reinforcements, and such multitudes complied with the summons as emboldened them to approach the Roman camp with a design to force its entrenchments. But Cæsar not waiting for the assault, fell upon them with such fury that they could not long sustain the shock. The Romans having pursued the fugitives with great slaughter, and desolated the surrounding country, returned to their camp.

The Britons, disheartened by this second defeat, sent ambassadors that same day to Cæsar, who condescended to grant peace to them on no harder conditions than doubling the number of hostages, which were to be sent after him into Gaul. He then refitted his fleet; and after a stay of little more than three weeks in Britain, he set sail, and arrived safe in Gaul, where he began immediately to make preparations for a second expedition into Britain in the next spring with a much more formidable army.

*Ann. 54.*

Towards the middle of the spring, Cæsar, at the head of a gallant army of five legions and 2000 horse, on board a fleet of more than 800 ships, reached the coast of Britain, at the same place where he had landed the year before, and disembarked without opposition, as the Britons, on beholding this prodigious fleet approaching their coasts, were



struck with consternation, and retired some miles up the country, towards some woods, into a place strongly fortified both by art and nature. The Romans soon forced the entrenchments, and obliged them to abandon the place; but the next day Cæsar recalled his troops from the pursuit, and hastened to the sea coast, where a dreadful storm had driven almost all his fleet ashore, entirely destroyed forty ships, and damaged all the rest.

While the Romans were repairing their fleet, the Britons were employed in strengthening their confederacy, and in chusing a commander in chief. The choice fell upon Cassibelanus, a prince of great courage and military experience. The Britons under this new leader waited undauntedly the approach of the Romans; but Cæsar discomfited them in every action. He advanced into the country, passed the Thames in sight of the enemy, received the submissions of many neighbouring states, took and burned the capital of Cassibelanus, and re-established Mandubratius on the throne of his father, sovereign of one of the British principalities, who had been murdered by Cassibelanus. This chieftain, not yet dispirited by the defection of his allies, formed the design of destroying the Roman fleet, which had been left under a weak guard; but the miscarriage of this scheme determined him to make peace on the easiest terms he could. His advances were highly agreeable to Cæsar, who began to be heartily tired with his British expedition. The peace was soon concluded on these terms: that Cassibelanus should offer no injury to Mandubratius or his subjects; that Britain should give a certain number of hostages, and pay a certain yearly tribute to the Romans. Neither the number of the hostages nor the amount of the tribute are mentioned by Cæsar, who seems to have been much less actuated in those stipulations by his expectations

that they would be executed than by his own honour and that of the Roman name ; and being convinced that no conquests in Britain could compensate the expense, the difficulty and danger attending them, he left it with a resolution never to return. The same opinion prevailed during the long reign of Augustus, and under his successors, Tiberius and Caligula; and the civil wars, which prepared the way for the establishment of monarchy in Rome, have so much employed the pen of all the historians of those times, that a chasm of eighty-nine years has been left in the history of Britain, which cannot now be filled up in a satisfactory manner.

*Ann. Dom. 43 to 59.*

In the year 43 after the birth of Christ, Aulus Plautius, a Roman general of great wisdom and valour, was sent by the emperor Claudius into Britain with a considerable army. Cunobelinus, the most illustrious prince among the successors of Cassibelanus, was now dead, and his dominions were divided between his widow and his two sons, Caraetacus and Togodumnus. These two princes armed their respective subjects; but they were soon overtaken and completely defeated by Plautius, who pursued them to the north side of the river Thames, whither they had retired.

Claudius being informed that the Britons, though defeated in all the engagements that had taken place, still continued undaunted, and made no proposals of peace, came over into Britain, and part of the island submitted to him, within a few days after his arrival, without battle or bloodshed; he then hastened back to Rome, which he entered in triumph. The Britons, however, under the command of Caractacus maintained an obstinate resistance during nearly nine years, till Ostorius Scapula was

sent against them. He defeated Caractacus in a great battle, took him prisoner with his whole family, and sent them to Rome, where Claudius was so much pleased with the noble firmness and magnanimity of the British prince, that he pardoned him and his family, and commanded their chains to be immediately taken off.

*Ann. 59 to 77.*

Under the reign of Nero, Suetonius Paulinus, being invested with the command of the Roman armies in Britain, resolved to attack the island of Mona (now Anglesey), which was the chief seat of the Druids, and the centre of their superstition. The Britons employed all the means in their power to defend this sacred island, which afforded them shelter and protection after their defeats. The women and priests were intermingled with the soldiers upon the shore, and running about with flaming torches, and tossing their dishevelled hair, they at first struck terror among the Roman troops; but their wonted intrepidity soon revived at the exhortations of Suetonius, who impelled them to the attack, drove the Britons off the field, burned the Druids in the same fires which they had prepared for their captives, and destroyed all the consecrated groves and altars. But during that expedition, the Britons, taking advantage of Suetonius's absence, had all risen in arms, headed by Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, who had been treated in the most ignominious manner by the Romans. The king Prasatagus, her husband, had at his death bequeathed one half of his dominions to the Romans, thus hoping to secure the rest to his family; but immediately after his death the Roman procurator took possession of the whole; and when Boadicea attempted to remonstrate, he ordered her to be scourged like a slave, and insulted

her daughters in the most criminal manner. These outrages were sufficient to produce a revolt throughout the island. The Iceni, as being the subjects of the unfortunate queen, were the first to take arms. The other principalities soon followed the example; and Boadicea, a princess of great beauty and masculine energy, was appointed to command the army, which amounted to 230,000 fighting men. She attacked with success several settlements of the enemy.

Suetonius hastened to the protection of London, which had been built ten years before, and was already a flourishing Roman colony; but considering how imprudent it would be to coop himself up in a place so ill fortified, he determined rather to take the field. Soon after Suetonius had left the place, it was entered by the British army, who reduced it to ashes, massacred such of the inhabitants as remained in it, and put to the sword without distinction the Romans and all strangers to the number of 70,000.

Flushed with these successes, the Britons no longer sought to avoid the enemy, but came boldly to the place where Suetonius awaited them in a very advantageous position. Boadicea, in a chariot with her two daughters, harangued her army with the utmost energy. The battle was obstinate; but the irregular and undisciplined bravery of her troops was unable to resist the cool intrepidity of the Romans. Her army was routed with great slaughter; 80,000 perished in the field, and an infinite number were made prisoners; Boadicea herself, rather than fall into the hands of the victor, put an end to her own life by poison. Suetonius was soon recalled by Nero; and Cerealis, who after some interval received the command from Vespasian, extended by his bravery the terror of the Roman arms. Julius Frontinus succeeded Cerealis; but the general who finally

established the dominion of Rome in Britain, was Julius Agricola, who governed it under the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian.

*Ann. 78 to 85.*

The exploits of Julius Agricola, the most famous of all the Roman governors of Britain, have been recorded at full length by Tacitus. He represents him as eloquent, brave, and virtuous, adorned with the highest honours of the state, equally admired and beloved by the army he was to command, and in which he had learnt the first rudiments of war, in Britain, under the brave Suetonius. He exceeded the highest expectation which had been formed of him. If his military achievements got him the reputation of a great commander, his behaviour, in the intervals of his seven campaigns, gained him the still more amiable character of a benevolent, enlightened, and impartial magistrate. He rescued the provinces from the extortions of publicans and the oppressions of monopolists; his wise and mild administration reconciled the Britons to the Roman government, and they began to relish the sweets of peace, which before had been as unsafe and oppressive as even war itself.

Agricola, in his first campaign, took a severe vengeance upon the inhabitants of a province who had cut in pieces almost a whole wing of Roman cavalry quartered on their confines. He afterwards secured the conquest of Anglesey, which Suetonius had been obliged to leave imperfect.

In his second campaign he directed his march northward, and either by the terror of his arms, or by the fame of his clemency, he brought several British provinces to submit to the authority of the Romans, and secured these conquests by building

a great number of fortresses near the same tract where Adrian's rampart and Severus's wall were afterwards erected.

In his third campaign, Agricola entered Caledonia, hitherto unknown to the Romans, penetrated to the river Tay without opposition, built several forts in the most advantageous situations for keeping possession of the country, and put his army into them for their winter quarters.

He spent the ensuing year in securing the extensive conquests of his late campaign, by building a line of forts quite across the narrow neck of land which separate the friths of Forth and Clyde, exactly on the same spot where the rampart of Antoninus Pius was afterwards constructed.

In the fifth campaign he led his army, over the frith of Clyde, into the north-west parts of Caledonia, had some successful skirmishes with several British tribes, and put his troops into winter quarters in the several forts which he had built in the two preceding years.

The following year was marked by a signal victory, entirely due to the vigilance, bravery, and military talents of Agricola. He intended to attack the north-east parts of Britain, which lay beyond the frith of Forth, and having passed that river, he marched along the north banks of it, attended by his fleet, which supported the army in all its operations. The Caledonians, alarmed, but not dismayed, at this sight, and relying on the superiority of their numbers, determined to take up arms and to defend their country to the last extremity. They attacked with great boldness the Roman forts and parties, and spread consternation through the whole army. They intended to assail Agricola on all sides, and in distinct bands. To prevent his being surrounded, he divided his army into three separate bodies. As soon as the Caledonians perceived it, they suddenly

united their whole forces to fall upon each of these bodies, one after another, and they began by attacking the weakest. This attack, made in the night-time, and wholly unexpected, was nearly crowned with success. They had entered the enemy's camp, where all was in confusion, and the Romans were in the greatest danger of being cut in pieces, when Agricola, who had been informed of the Caledonians' march, fell with his light-armed foot and cavalry upon their rear with such impetuosity and gallantry, that being pressed on all sides, they were obliged to retire with precipitation into the neighbouring woods and marshes. They spent the winter in preparing for a more vigorous campaign than the former, and chose Galgacus, one of their bravest chieftains, to command all the troops of the confederacy.

At the approach of the summer, the Caledonians, having removed their wives and children into woods and fortresses, and collected an army of about 30,000 men, they encamped on the skirts of the Grampian hills. No sooner did the Roman army approach, than Galgacus drew up his troops in order of battle, and endeavoured to inflame their courage, by haranguing them, riding along the ranks in his chariot. Both armies soon engaged, and as long as they fought at a little distance, and by their missive weapons, the Caledonians had the advantage, by dexterously warding off the darts of their enemies with their little targets, and pouring in upon them a shower of their own; which being observed by Agricola, he commanded his troops to advance and engage the enemy hand to hand. The long, broad, unwieldy swords of the Caledonians, being quite unfit for such a mode of fighting, they were completely defeated, and fled in straggling parties towards the neighbouring woods, facing about more than once, and giving a severe check to the most

forward of their pursuers. The Romans lost only 340 men, while nearly 10,000 of the Caledonians were slain in that fatal battle. Frantic with rage and despair after their defeat, they set fire to their own houses, and some of them even slew their wives and children, to prevent their being made slaves, which they esteemed more terrible than death.

Agricola, considering that the season was too far advanced to push his conquests any further northward, conducted his land forces by slow marches to their winter quarters, through the lately-conquered countries, to keep alive the terror of the inhabitants; while his fleet, having coasted quite around Britain, and discovered that it was an island, arrived safely at the same harbour from which they had sailed.

On this occasion the senate decreed the triumphal honours to Agricola, and a statue crowned with laurel; but the emperor Domitian, who was an inveterate enemy to all who excelled him in any virtue, under an appearance of kindness and satisfaction of Agricola's important services, removed him from the government of Britain, and appointed in his place Sallustius Lucullus.

*Ann. 86 to 137.*

From this period to the year 121, the Roman historians give no particular account of the affairs of Britain. They relate only, that in the year 121, Adrian, visiting the several provinces of his empire, came over to Britain, and raised a rampart or wall of earth, as the boundary of the Roman province, from the mouth of the river Tyne on the east, to the Solway Frith on the west, near the track where Agricola had built his first chain of forts. Thence it may be naturally supposed, that all the country to the north of this rampart had been



recovered by the Caledonians after the departure of Agricola.

*Ann. 138 to 210.*

Lollius Urbicus, governor of Britain under the reign of Antoninus Pius, the adopted son and successor of Adrian, recovered the country as far as the Isthmus between the friths of Forth and Clyde, and raised, by the direction of the emperor, another strong wall between these two friths, along the line of forts which had been formerly built there by Agricola. This wall, with its ditch and forts, was intended for the outmost boundary of the Roman empire in Britain.

Another stupendous wall of solid stone, twelve feet high and eight feet thick, nearly parallel to that of Adrian, and at a distance of a few paces further to the north, was erected by the emperor Severus in the year 209, the period of his expedition into Britain. He died at York in the year 211, and in the beginning of the next century (25th of July 306) Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, ended his life at the same place, after having recovered, in 296, and re-united to the Roman empire, the whole of Britain, which had been during twelve years in the hands of two usurpers (Carausius and Alutus).

*Ann. 211 to 305.*

For more than seventy years after Severus's death, a profound peace prevailed in Britain, and little mention is made of its affairs by the historians. It is only known that the Romans, during their abode in that country, introduced into it all the luxuries of Italy, and reduced the South Britons to the lowest state of vassalage. The genius of liberty retreated

northward, where the natives never ceased to offer the most determined resistance to the Romans, who, assisted by the Britons, were frequently employed in repelling the attacks of the Caledonians, or rather of the two tribes among them, which about this time began to be called by the new names of Scots and Picts, probably imposed upon them by their neighbours, out of revenge for the injuries which they suffered by their frequent depredations. This conjecture is supported by the significations of these names in the vulgar language of Britain at that time, as they were really names of reproach, expressive of the fierce, voracious character of the Caledonians. *Scuite* in the British tongue (which being latinized made *Scoti*) signifies the wandering nation, which was the real character of the inhabitants of the western coasts of North-Britain at that time; and *Pictish* (latinized *Picti*) signifies *thief* or *plunderer*, which was no less characteristic of the Caledonians on the east coasts.

The Roman territories in Britain, which for more than 150 years made only one province, had been divided into two by the emperor Severus; at length, when the authority of the Romans extended over all that part of the island which lies to the south of the wall between the friths of Forth and Clyde, the whole country was divided into five provinces, viz. the Flavia Cæsariensis, bounded on the south by the English channel, on the north by the Bristol channel, the Severn, and the Thames; Britannia Prima, bounded on the south by the Thames, on the east by the British ocean, on the north by the Humber, and on the west by the Severn; Britannia Secunda, bounded on the south by the Bristol channel and the Severn, on the west by St. George's channel, on the north by the Irish sea, and on the east by Britannia Prima; Maxima Cæsariensis, bounded on the south by the Humber, on the east by the Ger-

man ocean, on the west by the Irish sea, and on the north by the wall of Severus. Valentia was the fifth and most northerly province of the Romans in Britain; it contained all that extensive tract of country which lay between the walls of Severus and Antoninus Pius.

*Ann. 306 to 375.*

Constantine the Great began his auspicious reign at York, where he was present at his father's death, and immediately after saluted emperor with the most universal joy. He staid some time in Britain to finish the remains of the war with the Scots and Picts, and to settle peace with them on a solid basis; which having accomplished, he recruited his army with a great number of British youth, and departed to the continent.

In the year 304, a great part of the Roman forces in Britain having been recalled into Gaul, the Franks and Saxon pirates plundered the southern coasts, while the Scots and Picts invaded the Roman provinces in the north; and pushed their depredations much farther than they had done before. At length the emperor Valentinian appointed Theodosius, one of the wisest men and greatest generals of that age, to command in Britain, and sent him over in the year 367. The enemy had already penetrated as far as London, then called Augusta, where they had collected an immense booty, as well as a great multitude of men, women, and children, as prisoners. Theodosius fell upon them and obliged them to fly, leaving behind them all their prey and captives. He set all the prisoners at liberty, bestowed part of the spoils, whose owners could not be found, on his soldiers, and restored the rest to the original proprietors.

Theodosius having spent the winter in re-esta-

blishing order and tranquillity in the southern parts of Britain, took the field in the spring, directing his march northward, recovered the whole country to the south of Severus's wall, and soon after drove the enemy beyond the wall of Antoninus Pius, which he repaired and made once more the frontier of the Roman territories in Britain; which he brought to a state of the most perfect order, happiness, and security. When he was recalled, to be raised to one of the highest dignities of the empire, he was attended to the shore by infinite multitudes of people, who loaded him with blessings, and pursued him with the most fervent wishes for his prosperity.

*Ann. 376 to 448.*

The Britons, after the departure of Theodosius, enjoyed the most profound tranquillity for several years; until the increasing distresses of the empire obliged Honorius to recall all the Roman troops out of Britain, and to leave it in a very defenceless state, not only by the departure of these troops, but also by the emigrations of the British youth, with the two usurpers Maximus and Constantine. However, from this period to that of the final departure of the Romans, they sent at two different times (in 416 and 418) one of their legions to support the Britons against the new irruptions of the Scots and Picts. But at length, the Roman empire was reduced to such extremities, that, in 420, it recalled the few of its troops that remained in Britain, and never sent any more to that country, where the Romans had been masters of its most fertile parts for more than 400 years.

The Scots and Picts, finding the island finally deserted by the Romans, now regarded the whole as their prey, and attacked Severus's wall with all their forces. The Britons, almost subdued by their own

fears, had again recourse to the Romans in the year 446, and sent ambassadors to Actius, then prefect of Gaul, with letters, in the following mournful strain ; “ To Aetius, thrice consul, the groans of the Britons.—The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea throws us back on the swords of the barbarians ; so that we have nothing left us but the wretched choice of being either drowned or butchered.” But all their entreaties and lamentations on that occasion were in vain. When they saw that they had no more assistance to expect from the Romans, they began to consider what other nation they might call to their relief. In the mean time their independence was confirmed by the emperor Honorius, who in his letters committed to the Britons the care of their own safety.

Such was the end of the domination of the Romans over Britain, where they possessed, says Gibbon, the entire dominion of England, Wales, and the low-lands of Scotland, as far as the friths of Dunbarton and Edinburgh.

#### *Observations on that Period.*

The first colonies which came from Gaul, and took possession of Britain, were its earliest inhabitants ; and brought with them their native language, which was the Celtic. (Cæs. l. vi. c. 13. Tacit. Vit. Agricol. c. 11.) The form of government they had adopted previous to the Roman invasion, was just the same as that of all other existing governments at the same period of their civilization, unless they were established by conquest, as, that case only excepted, all of them were derived from the patriarchal government, the most ancient of all amongst mankind. It is indeed an undeniable fact, that the first states, or civil societies, in every country, were only large families, clans, or tribes, consisting of

brothers, sisters, cousins, and other near relations, under the protection and government of their common parent, or of his representative, the head of the tribe or family. This patriarchal government, in its most pure and simple form, could not be of a very long continuance in any country, as all these tribes, becoming more and more numerous, gradually approached nearer to one another. Thence disputes arose between them, about their limits, their properties, the honour and dignity of their chiefs, &c. &c. These disputes produced wars, which occasioned alliances of the contending parties with one or more neighbouring clans, which were thereby in a little time consolidated into one large society or state. Thus a great number of petty states or kingdoms were formed under one king, who commonly was the head of the chief clan of the state, while the chiefs of the other united tribes, retained under him a great degree of authority, each in his own clan. Such was the origin of the thirty-eight kingdoms into which Britain was divided when first invaded by the Romans.

The rule of succession in these ancient British monarchies, was not very firmly established : little or no regard was paid to the rights of primogeniture : when one of these monarchs left more than one son, of mature age and capacity, his succession was equally divided among them ; and if he left no sons, he was succeeded by his daughter or his widow. Though in the remotest ages, the attachment of the Britons to the family of their sovereign was, after their love of liberty, the most prominent of their characteristics, they had no idea of the possibility of infant monarchs, with a regent to govern in their name.

Druidism was the primitive religion in Britain ; and the British Druids, the most famous for their learning, were the only priests, legislators, and ma-

gistrates of the country. The progress of the Roman arms contributed not a little to the propagation of the Gospel, not only by the final destruction of the Druids, which took place in the year 61, but by opening a free and uninterrupted intercourse to the Christian missionaries over the whole country. For about the beginning of the third century, according to the testimony of Tertullian, (*contra Judæos*, c. 7.) the Christian religion had extended, beyond the limits of the Roman province, into those parts of Britain which had not submitted to the arms of that conquering nation. In the council which met at Arles in the year 314, among the thirty-three bishops who were summoned to it, and subscribed its decrees, Eborus bishop of York, Restitus bishop of London, and Adelfius bishop of the Colonia Londinensium, are mentioned.

Previous to the Roman invasion, the Britons had no towns; but they called so a few thatched houses, scattered in a tract of woody country, surrounded by a mound, or ditch, for the security of themselves and their cattle against the incursions of their enemies. They, however, carried on a pretty considerable and advantageous trade, not only with the Gauls of the opposite shore, but with the Phenicians and Greeks. The seat of their markets was confined to the sea-coasts along the British channel, between the mouth of the Thames on the east, and the Land's End on the west.

The most valuable articles of the British exports were, tin, lead, iron, gold and silver, corn, dogs, horses, cattle, hides and skins, jeat-stone, and particularly pearls, which according to Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* l. ix, c. 35.) were esteemed by the Romans the most precious and excellent of all things, and bore the highest price. Besides all these articles, great numbers of slaves, probably prisoners taken in war, or

criminals condemned to slavery for their crimes, were exported from Britain and sold like cattle in the Roman market.

The goods imported into Britain, according to Julius Cæsar (l. v. c. 12.) and Strabo (l. iv.), were brass, ivory, bridles, gold chains, cups of amber, drinking glasses, and various wares or trinkets of the like kind.

As soon as the Romans had invaded Britain, and great numbers of them had settled in it, and when the Britons began to imitate the Roman luxury and way of living, the imports soon exceeded the exports in value, and brought the balance of trade against Britain. But as the Britons very rapidly improved in the knowledge of agriculture and other arts, they raised and prepared many more articles for exportation, and for their own consumption. By this means they brought and kept the balance of trade in their favour, which enabled them to pay more regularly the heavy taxes imposed upon them. The most productive of these taxes was a land tax, raised from the fifth to the twentieth of the produce of all arable lands, according to their fertility, and on pasture grounds, or rather on the cattle that grazed on them. The proprietors of mines of all kind of metals were obliged to pay a certain proportion of their profits to the state. There was also, besides a poll-tax, or capitation, a great variety of taxes on particular things, as on houses, pillars, hearths, &c. &c. and a twentieth from all estates and legacies that were left by will to such persons as would not have been otherwise entitled to them by right of blood. If the calculations of Lipsius may be depended on (*de Magnitud. Rom.* l. ii. c. 3.), concerning the amount of the Roman revenue in Britain, it was not less than two millions sterling annually.

When the Romans took their final farewell of Britain, an almost total dissolution of all order, law, and



government attended their departure, and this wretched country was soon plunged into the most deplorable darkness, ignorance, and confusion, though adorned with many noble monuments of Roman art and industry; crowded with cities, towns, and villages, communicating to one another by the most substantial roads. But the families of the ancient British princes had been either extinguished or blended with the common people, so that few or none could produce any title to seize the reins of government. The unfortunate Britons had lost, with the Roman regular forces, the flower of their own youth, which had followed them; and the rest, by the policy of the Romans, had been so long deprived of the use of arms, that they now remained a timid disorderly multitude, ready to become an easy prey to the first bold invader.

### APPENDIX.

*The most important Occurrences of this Period are proved by the Testimony of the following Authors.*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Julius Cæsar, de Bello Gallico, l. 4, 5, 6.   | Gildas Hist. A. 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 23, 25.                     |
| Suetonius in Vita Jul. Cæs. l. 1. c. 47, 56.  | Bede Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 12, 13, 14, 15.                             |
| Dic. Cas-ins, l. 39, 49, 53, 60, 62, 75.  | Diodorus Siculus, l. 3, 4, 5, 11.                                       |
| Strabo, l. 3, 4, 5.   | M'Pherson's Dissertations, p. 341, 203, 131.                            |
| Tacitus Vita Agricol. c. 14, 15. De Mor. Germ. c. 9, 40, 14, 15, 20.  | Hist. Nat. Plin. l. 12, 16, 30, 13, 8, 9.                               |
| Tacitus Annal. l. 12. c. 30, 32, 33, 34, and the following l. 14.   | l. 22. c. 1. l. 33, 34, 35, 36.   |
| Suetonius passim Vita Augusti, Calig. Claud. Vespas. Nero, Domit. Eutropius, l. 7. c. 8. l. 8. c. 7, 8. l. 9. 10. | Mela l. 3. c. 2, 6, 11.   |
| Ammianus Marcellinus, l. 20, c. 1. l. 10, 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, 27, 28, 31.   | Martin's Description of the Western Isles, p. 265.                      |
| Gibbon passim.  | Dionys. Halicar. l. 7.  |
|   | Lipsius de Magnitud. Rom. l. 2. c. 1, 2, 3, 4.                          |
|   | Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. 16, p. 162, et suivantes. |

## MEMORANDA

*Of some principal Contemporary Events which occurred in the other States of Europe.*

## A. C.

- 47 Pompey defeated by Cæsar at the battle of Pharsalia.  
The Alexandrian library, consisting of four hundred thousand valuable books, burnt by accident.
- 45 The war of Africa, in which Cato kills himself.  
The solar year introduced by Cæsar.
- 44 Cæsar killed in the senate house.
- 41 Marc Antony and Cleopatra defeated at the battle of Actium, by Octavius, nephew to Julius Cæsar.
- 30 Octavius takes Alexandria, and reduces Egypt to a Roman province.
- 27 Octavius, by a decree of the senate, obtains the title of Augustus Cæsar, and an absolute exemption from the laws, and is properly the first Roman emperor.
- 8 Rome at that time was fifty miles in circumference, and contained 463,000 men fit to bear arms.  
The temple of Janus is shut up by Augustus, as an emblem of universal peace.

## A. D.

- Birth of Jesus Christ.
- 33 Jesus Christ's death, resurrection, and ascension.
- 29 St. Matthew writes his Gospel, St. Mark in 44, St. Luke in 55, and St. John in 97.
- 63 The Acts of the Apostles are written.
- 64 Rome set on fire, and burned for six days under Nero, upon which began the first persecution against the Christians, a name given at Antioch, in the year 40, to the followers of Christ.
- 70 Titus takes Jerusalem, razes it to the ground, and makes the plough to pass over it.
- 79 Herculaneum overwhelmed by an irruption of Mount Vesuvius.
- 135 End of the second war against the Jews, when they were all banished Judæa.
- 152 Antoninus Pius stops the persecution against the Christians.
- 260 The emperor Valerian is taken prisoner by Sapor, king of Persia, and flayed alive.

A.D.

274 Silk first brought from India.

291 Two emperors, Diocletian and Maximian, and two Cæsars appointed by them, Galerius and Constantius, invested with the second honours of imperial purple, march to defend the four quarters of the empire.

306 Constantine the Great, son of Constantius, ascends the imperial throne, puts an end to the tenth persecution against Christians, gives full liberty to their religion, declares himself its protector, orders all the heathen temples to be destroyed, and after having defeated his two rivals, Maxentius and Licinius, he unites, under his only authority, the whole of the Roman empire.

324 Constantine removes the seat of the Roman empire from Rome to Byzantium, which is from that time called Constantinople.

325 The first general council convened at *Nicea*, now called *Isnick*, a town of the Asiatic Turkey in Asia, where the famous Nicean Creed was adopted.

337 Death of Constantine the Great, and division of the empire between his three sons Constantius, Constantine, and Constans. The two last being murdered, Constantius had to contend with the usurper Magnentius, who was at last vanquished.

353 Constantius gives the purple and the title of Cæsar to his cousins Gallus and Julian; the latter acquired, by the death of Constantius, in the year 361, the undisturbed possession of the empire; and as, in his rebellion against Constantius, he had publicly renounced the Christian religion, he was called the Apostate. His personal merit and talents were universally acknowledged, but his apostacy obscured irretrievably the lustre of his character. In the year 363, he endeavoured in vain to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem; Ammianus Marcellinus asserts that horrible balls of fire breaking out from the foundations, with frequent and reiterated attacks, rendered the place from time to time inaccessible to the scorched and blasted workmen. He died in the same year, 31 years old, from a wound he received in his expedition against Persia, and left, without an heir and without a master, the Roman empire, which was then divided into the eastern and western, each being under the government of different emperors; Constantinople was the capital of the former, and Rome of the latter. However, the Romans, weakened by this division, be-

came gradually more and more unable to resist the barbarous nations they had to contend with, and the decline of their glory could be dated from that period, had it not been stopped by the superior genius of Theodosius the Great, who in the thirty-third year of his age was called to the throne of the east in the year 369. Instead of attempting to encounter, in any decisive battle, the numerous host of the victorious barbarians, he cut off and defeated their separate detachments; the fortifications of the cities were strengthened, discipline was again revived, and confidence insensibly restored to the Roman legions.

Theodosius rendered his administration as respectable to his enemies as to his own subjects. He subdued the Arian heresy, and abolished the worship of idols; but he stained his glory by the horrible massacre at Antioch, for which St. Ambrose, the archbishop of Milan, submitted him to the humiliation of a public penance. An edict, which interposed an interval of thirty days between the sentences and their execution, was the fruit of his repentance. Towards the end of his reign the progressive effeminacy of the Romans induced the soldiers to lay aside the defensive armour which they had invariably worn from the first foundation of the city, and by exposing their naked bodies to the weapons of the barbarians, they insured the defeat of the Roman armies, and precipitated the fate of the Roman empire.

395 Its prosperity expired with the life of Theodosius in the year 395. He was succeeded by his two sons Arcadius and Honorius; the former to the throne of the east, and the latter to that of the west. The empire of the east comprised Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, Dacia, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt.—Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Mæsla, were assigned to the empire of the west.

403 Italy is invaded by Alaric, king of the Goths, and rescued by the famous Stilicho, who, though he was the son of an officer of Barbarian cavalry, had attached himself to Theodosius, and received the hand of his niece, as the reward of his wonderful talents and services. In the year 406, he deserved, a second time, the title of the deliverer of Italy, invaded again by an army of 200,000 Suevi, Vandals, Burgundians, and Alani, commanded by Radagaise, their king. But under weak princes, the

most important services are more dangerous, and often more severely punished than the greatest wrongs. The base flatterers of Honorius persuaded him that Stilicho meant to place the diadem on the head of his son; and on that false insinuation, Honorius issued a warrant of execution against him, and he was put to death in the year 408.

- 412 The Vandals spread into Spain by a concession of Honorius, began there their kingdom.  
420 The kingdom of France begins upon the Lower Rhine, under Pharamond.

*A list of the principal learned or illustrious men, who lived during the above period, and the date of their death.*

## A. C.

- 43 Cicero the Roman Orator put to death.  
34 Sallust the Roman Historian.  
19 Virgil the Poet.  
11 Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, poets.  
8 Horace the Lyric and Satirist.

## A. D.

- 17 Livy the Roman Historian.  
19 Ovid the Poet.  
33 Phædrus the Roman Fabulist.  
62 Persius the Roman Satyric Poet.  
64 Quintus Curtius the Historian.  
Seneca the Philosopher put to death.  
65 Lucan the Epic Poet.  
79 Pliny the elder, who wrote on Natural Hist.  
93 Josephus the Jewish Historian.

- 95 Quintilian the Roman Orator.  
99 Tacitus the Roman Historian.  
104 Martial the Epigrammatic Poet.  
116 Pliny the younger.  
117 Suetonius the Roman Historian.  
119 Plutarch of Greece, the Biographer.  
128 Juvenal the Roman Satirist.  
180 Lucian the Philologer and Satirist.  
258 St. Cyprian suffered martyrdom.  
273 Longinus the Greek Orator.  
336 Arius, the founder of the Arian sect.  
379 St. Basil, bishop of Cæsarea.  
389 St. Gregory Nazunzan, bishop of Constantinople.  
397 St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan.

*PERIOD THE SECOND.*

FROM THE INVASION OF THE SAXONS TO THE END OF  
THE HEPTARCHY, 449.

THE degraded Britons, restored to liberty, now considered it rather as a burthen than as an advantage, and did not follow the prudent counsel given them by the Romans, of arming themselves for their own defence. The Scots and Picts, finding no opposition to their inroads into Britain, renewed them daily, carrying devastation and ruin along with them. In the mean time the disciples of Pelagius, who was himself a native of Britain, having increased to a great multitude, gave alarm to the clergy, who were more intent on suppressing them than on opposing the public enemy. These calamitous circumstances determined the Britons to follow the counsels of Vortigern, one of their princes, who, though stained with every vice, possessed the chief authority among them, and advised them to send a deputation to the Saxons, to invite them over to their protection and assistance.

The warlike and ambitious Saxons, who, from their fierceness and valour, had become the terror of neighbouring nations, considered it as a fortunate circumstance to be invited into a country, which had been long before the object of their ambitious designs. They accordingly sent to Britain 1600 men, under the command of two brothers, Hengist and Horsa, who landed in the isle of Thanet, where they were received with great joy by the dispirited Britons, who made them the most ample promises of all necessary provisions and suitable rewards for their assistance. These preliminaries being settled,

the Saxons, as soon as they were joined by some British forces, boldly marched against the Picts and Scots, attacked them near Stamford, and gained a complete victory.

The Saxon generals perceiving, from their easy success in that battle, with what facility they might subdue the Britons themselves, who had not been able to resist those feeble invaders, sent intelligence to Saxony of the fertility and richness of Britain, and represented as certain the conquest of a nation so long disused to arms. In the mean time, Hengist induced the Britons to consent to a proposal he made, of sending for a reinforcement of his countrymen, as a further security against all future attempts of the Scots and Picts. This reinforcement, consisting of 5000 men, came over and joined the army of the Saxon chieftains. As soon as they saw themselves at the head of these determined warriors, they began to create a quarrel, by complaining, with as much bitterness as insincerity, that their subsidies were ill paid, and their provisions withdrawn; but they soon took off the mask, and having formed an alliance with the Picts and Scots, they proceeded to open hostility against the Britons. Roused to indignation against their treacherous auxiliaries, and impelled by the urgency of their calamities, the Britons at length took up arms, and having deposed Vortigern, who had become odious from the result of his rash counsels, they put themselves under the command of his son Vortimer. They fought many battles; and though the victories be disputed between the British and Saxon analysts, the progress still made by the Saxons prove that the advantage was commonly on their side. In one of these battles, however, fought at Eglesford, now Alisford, the prince Horsa was slain, and left the whole command of his countrymen to his brother Hengist, who carried devastation into the most remote corners of Britain, and reduced to ashes its

private and public edifices. The priests were slaughtered on the altars by these idolatrous invaders; the bishops and nobility shared the fate of the vulgar; the people, flying to the mountains and deserts, were intercepted and butchered in heaps: some were glad to accept of life and servitude under their victors; others took shelter on the opposite shore, in the part called Armorica, where being charitably received by a people of their same language and manners, they settled in great numbers, and gave the country the name of Brittany.

After the death of Vortimer, Ambrosius, a Briton, though of Roman descent, was invested with the command over his countrymen, and succeeded in some measure in uniting them against the Saxons. These contests increased the animosity between the two nations, and revived the military spirit of the ancient inhabitants. Still, however, Hengist maintained his ground; and in order to strengthen the Saxon interest in Britain, he called over a new tribe of Saxons under the command of his brother Octa, and Ebissa the son of Octa, and settled them in Northumberland. He himself remained in the southern parts of the island, and laid the foundation of the kingdom of Kent, comprehending the county of that name, Middlesex, Essex, and part of Surry. He fixed his royal seat at Canterbury, where he governed about forty years, and left his new acquired dominions to his posterity.

The success of Hengist encouraged other Saxon chiefs to come over and attempt to settle themselves in Britain. One of these, named Ælla, arrived in 477, with his three sons, at the head of many warlike followers, and laid the foundation of the kingdom of the south Saxons, or Sussex, which included Surry, Sussex, the New Forest, and extended to the frontiers of Kent.

Another tribe of Saxons, under the command of Cerdic and his son Kenric, landed in the west, in the



year 495, and from thence were called the West Saxons. They met a vigorous resistance from the natives; but being reinforced from Germany, and assisted by their countrymen already established in the island, they routed the Britons; and though retarded in their progress by the armies opposed to them, they kept possession of their conquests; and succeeded in establishing the third Saxon kingdom, known under the name of Wessex or West Saxons, and including the counties of Hants, Dorset, Wilts, Berks, and the isle of Wight.

It was against these invaders that the famous Prince Arthur, king or chief of the Silures, acquired his brilliant renown. However unsuccessful all his valour might have been in the end, yet his name makes too conspicuous a figure in the fabulous annals or romances of the times, not to take some notice of him.

Nothing is more uncertain than the real origin of this Arthur, so much celebrated in the Songs of Thalespin and many other British bards. His military achievements have been blended with so many fables, as even to give occasion to doubt of his existence. Certain it is, however, that he was a commander of great valour. According to the most authentic traditions of the times, he worsted the Saxons in twelve successive battles; it is even asserted, that in one of these, fought at Caerbadan in Berks, he killed no less than 440 of the enemy with his own hand. But the Saxon armies were too powerful to be destroyed by the desultory efforts of single valour; so that they still gained ground; and the gallant Arthur, in the decline of life, had the mortification, from some domestic troubles of his own, to be a patient spectator of their encroachments. His first wife had been carried off by Melnas, king of Somersetshire, who detained her a whole year at Glastenbury; until Arthur, discovering the place of her retreat, advanced with his army

against the ravisher, and obliged him to give her back, through the mediation of Gildas Albanus. No mention is made of his second wife ; but his third was debauched by his own nephew, Mordred. This produced a rebellion, in which Arthur and Mordred meeting in battle, they slew each other.

Cerdic, the first king of Wessex, died in 534; and Kenric, his son, in 560; the crown passed to their posterity.

While the Saxons made this progress in the west, their countrymen were no less active in other parts of the island. In the year 527, a great tribe of these adventurers, under several leaders, landed on the east coast of Britain. The names and actions of those chieftains have not been preserved in history ; it is only known, that after many battles, they established new kingdoms. Uffa assumed the title of king of the east Angles in 575 ; Crida, that of king of Mercia in 585 ; and Erkenwin, that of king of East Saxons, or Essex, about the same time. This latter kingdom was dismembered from that of Kent, and comprehended Essex, Middlesex, and part of Herefordshire ; that of the East Angles, the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk. Mercia was extended over all the middle counties, from the banks of the Severn to the frontiers of the East Saxons and East Angles.

The seventh and last kingdom which the Saxons obtained, was that of Northumberland, where Hengist had settled his brother and his nephew, with the body of troops under their command. But as they made slow progress in subduing the inhabitants, none of these princes ; for a long time, assumed the title of king. At last Ida, a Saxon prince of great valour, brought over a reinforcement from Germany, in 547, and enabled the Northumbrians to carry on their conquests against the Britons. He entirely subdued the country now called *Northumberland*, the bishopric of Durham, and some of the

south-east counties of Scotland; he then assumed the crown, and the title of king of Bernicia. Nearly about the same time, Ælla, another Saxon prince, having conquered Lancashire and the greater part of Yorkshire, took the title of king of Deiri. These two kingdoms were united in the person of Ethelfrid, grand-son of Ida, who married the daughter of Ælla; and expelling her brother Edwin, established one of the most powerful of the Saxon kingdoms, under the name of Northumberland. He spread the terror of the Saxon arms through the neighbouring country, and by his victories over the Scots, the Picts, and the Welch, he extended on all sides the boundaries of his dominions. Having laid siege to Chester, Brocmail, a British prince, king of Powis, marched out with all his forces against him, and was attended by a body of 1250 monks from the monastery of Bangor, who stood at a small distance from the field of battle, encouraging the army. Chester was obliged to surrender; and Ethelfrid, pursuing his victory, made himself master of Bangor, and entirely demolished the monastery, a building so extensive that there was a mile's distance from one gate of it to another, and it contained 2100 monks, who are said to have been there maintained by their labour.

Some years after, and in the year 617, prince Edwin, Ethelfrid's brother-in-law, who had found an asylum in the court of the king of East Anglia, was assisted by him in recovering his kingdom; he secretly raised a powerful army, marched into Northumberland, and by an unexpected attack upon the army of Ethelfrid, obtained a complete victory. Ethelfrid was slain in the battle; and Edwin found no opposition in taking possession of the whole kingdom of Northumberland: he proved one of the best and greatest of the Anglo-Saxon kings.

These northern conquerors were chiefly composed of three tribes, the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes; the

latter being the less numerous, they passed all under the common appellation, sometimes of Saxons, sometimes of Angles; and the countries conquered and inhabited by them were likewise called Saxon's land, or Angles' land, from which is probably derived the name of *England*, either by corruption, or by an abbreviation to which many proper names have been submitted.

Thus, after a violent contest of nearly 150 years, the natives being completely destroyed, or compelled either to emigrate on the continent, or to take refuge in the barren and mountainous countries of Wales and Cornwall, seven kingdoms, since well known by the name of the Saxon Heptarchy, were established in Britain, the inhabitants, language, customs, and political institutions of which were totally changed. How far the Saxons extended their dominion is uncertain; but it cannot be doubted that all the low-lands, especially the east coast of that country, were peopled in a great measure from Germany, though the expeditions of the Saxons in those parts have escaped the records of history; the language, purely Saxon, of the inhabitants, is a strong and sufficient proof of this event.

The Saxons, at their coming into Britain, were not only pagans, but were animated with so violent a hatred against Christianity, that they murdered the Christian clergy without mercy, and destroyed their places of worship whenever they fell into their hands. However, when Ethelbert, king of Kent, and the most illustrious of the successors of Hengist, married Bertha, the only daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, and the grand-son of Clovis, he, in consideration of this alliance, submitted to the remarkable stipulation, that the princess should enjoy the free exercise of her religion. Bertha accordingly brought over Luidhart, a French bishop, to the court of Canterbury; and being zealous for the propagation of her religion she supported the credit of

her faith by an irreproachable conduct, and employed every art of insinuation and address to reconcile her husband to the catholic principles. Her popularity in the court, and her influence over Ethelbert, so well paved the way for the reception of the Christian doctrine, that Pope Gregory the Great began to entertain hopes of converting the Saxons, a project which he had formed before his pontificate, on observing in the market-place of Rome, some Saxon youth exposed to sale by the Roman merchants, who in their trading voyages to Britain, had bought them of their mercenary parents. Struck with the beauty of their fair complexion, he asked to what country they belonged, and being answered that these were Angles, he replied, "that they would be not *Angles*, but *Angels*," "had they been Christians; *non Angli sed Angeli forent, si essent Christiani*." Enquiring farther concerning the name of their province, he was informed that it was *Deiry*—"Deiry," said he, "that is good! They are called to the mercy of God from his anger, *de ira*. But what is the name of the king of that province?" He was told it was *Ælla* or *Alla*. "Añeluya," said he, "we must endeavour that the praises of God be sung in their country." Moved by these allusions, which appeared to him very happy, he determined to undertake himself a mission into Britain. But his popularity was so great amongst the Romans, that, unwilling to expose him to dangers, they compelled him to lay aside all future thoughts of executing his pious purpose. However, soon after his accession to the papal chair, he appointed *Austin*, or *Augustin*, a monk of the convent of St. Andrew's, at Rome, to go with forty other monks, and preach the gospel in Britain.

On Augustin's arrival in Kent, in the year 597, Ethelbert, already well disposed towards the Christian faith, assigned him a habitation in the island of

Thanet, and soon after admitted him to a conference. Augustin, encouraged by this favourable reception, proceeded with an indefatigable zeal to preach the gospel. Ethelbert openly embraced the Christian religion, and his example wrought so powerfully on his subjects, that numbers of them came spontaneously to be baptized, their missionaries declaring loudly against any coercive means towards their conversion. The heathen temples where the sun, the moon, and the god of thunder were adored, were changed to places of Christian worship, and such churches as had been suffered to decay, were repaired. The more to facilitate the reception of Christianity, the missionaries, considering that the people would be allured to frequent those places which they had formerly been accustomed to revere, removed the pagan idols, but did not throw down the altars. The same motive induced them to indulge the people in those feasts and cheerful entertainments, which they had been formerly accustomed to celebrate near the places of their idolatrous worship. They exchanged with readiness their ancient opinion, when they found that they would not be deprived of their innocent relaxations. Augustin was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, and invested with authority over all the British churches. His associates, spreading themselves over all the country, completed that conversion which they had so happily begun.

The kingdom of the Heptarchy which next embraced the Christian faith, was that of Northumberland, at that time the most powerful. Edwin, then king of the country, and the greatest prince of the Heptarchy in that age, had married Ethelburga, the daughter of Ethelbert. This princess, emulating the glory of her mother, who had acted the principal part in the conversion of her husband, carried Paulinus, a learned bishop, with her into Northumberland, having previously stipulated for the free exer-

cise of her religion. Edwin, at her solicitation, consented to see Paulinus, held several conferences with him, disputed with his counsellors, meditated alone, and after a serious discussion, declared himself a Christian. Coifi also, the high priest of the pagan superstition, declaring himself a convert to the arguments of Paulinus, the whole body of the people unanimously followed their example. After these two princes, the kings of the East-Angles and of Mercia were the foremost in adopting Christianity, which soon after pervaded all the remaining kingdoms of the Heptarchy, where many of the princesses employed their influence with success in converting their husbands and their subjects to their religion.

It must be said also to the praise of Ethelbert, that he enacted, with the consent of the states of his kingdom, a body of laws, the first written laws promulgated by any of the northern conquerors. His reign, which lasted fifty years, was in every respect glorious to himself and beneficial to his people. He died in 616, and was succeeded by his son Cadbald.

The Saxons being thus established in all the desirable parts of the island, abolished entirely the British and Roman customs. The language, which had been either Latin or Celtic, was abandoned, and the Saxon only was spoken. The land, before divided into principalities or governments, was cantoned into shires, with Saxon appellations to distinguish them. The habits of the people, their titles of honour, their laws and forms of trial by jury, were continued as originally practised by the Germans only, with such gradual alterations as increasing civilization produced.

As to the several Saxon princes who composed the Heptarchy, they preserved carefully an union of counsels and interests, so long as the contest was maintained with the natives; but they began to

quarrel among themselves, when they had the Britons no longer to contend with. Bloody and numerous, undoubtedly, were the wars and revolutions of those petty independent states, not only from jealousy or ambition, but on account of there not existing in the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, any rule of succession strictly observed; and thence the reigning prince, continually agitated with suspicions against all the princes of the blood, considered them as rivals, whose death alone could give him entire security in the possession of the throne, and for its transmission to his children. It happened too often that these royal murderers were induced to believe that such enormities could be redeemed by large donations to the churches and convents, by pilgrimages to Rome, or by shutting themselves up in a cloister during the rest of their life. Thence, and from the opinion of merit attending the preservation of chastity even in a married state, almost all the royal families of the Heptarchy were extinguished.

These transactions have been transmitted to us by the monks, who were the only annalists during those ages of ignorance; but their accounts are so full of names and so confusedly written, that there is no possibility of rendering them instructive, or even intelligible, without the assistance of a kind of map, such as that which is here subjoined, and which being divided into seven columns, has the advantage of presenting at once, though separately, the principal occurrences, revolutions, and successive kings, of the seven kingdoms. The deepest researches into the few remaining records of the kingdom of Kent, would not be rewarded by the discovery of any more events of importance and truth than those above-mentioned or related in that map. The history of the kingdoms of Essex and Sussex is still more imperfect and uninteresting.

Mercia, the largest, if not the most powerful of



these kingdoms, reckoned many warlike and enterprising princes in the royal family. Offa was the most conspicuous of all, from his numerous victories and his personal qualities. But the glory of his successes was stained by his treacherous murder of Ethelbert, king of the East-Angles, and his violent usurpation of that kingdom. Soon after this act of perfidy and cruelty, Offa, desirous of re-establishing his character in the world, and perhaps of appeasing the remorse of his own conscience, gave the tenth of his goods to the church, bestowed rich donations on the cathedral of Hereford, and even made a pilgrimage to Rome. The better to ingratiate himself with the pope, he engaged to pay him a yearly donation for the support of an English college at Rome; and in order to raise the sum, he imposed a tax of a penny on each house possessed of thirty pence a year. This imposition, being afterwards levied on all England, was commonly denominated Peter-pence, and after a certain length of time was claimed as a tribute by the popes.

Offa was become so considerable in the Heptarchy, that the emperor Charlemagne entered into an alliance and friendship with him; and as he was a great lover of learning and learned men, Offa, at his desire, sent him over Alcuin, a clergyman, very much celebrated for his knowledge. He received great honours from Charlemagne, and even became his preceptor in the sciences.

Almost all the successors of Offa murdered one another for the preservation or usurpation of the throne, or were killed by their own subjects. The confusion produced by these repeated catastrophies in almost all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, paved the way to their union into a great monarchy; and by disgusting the people of their government and princes, prepared them to receive, without any opposition, the yoke which Egbert, king of Wessex, was enabled to impose upon them by the defeat and

submission of all their princes. Egbert had over them the advantage of being the only descendant of those first conquerors who subdued Britain, and who enhanced their authority by claiming a pedigree from Wooden, the supreme deity of their ancestors, and the chief object of their religious worship. They considered him as the God of war, and believed that if they could obtain his favour by their valour, they should be admitted after their death into his hall, and, reposing on couches, should satiate themselves with ale from the skulls of the enemies whom they had slain in battle.

Thus were united all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy in one great state, in the year 827, about 378 years after the first arrival of the Saxons in Britain.

The Scots and Picts did not perform any actions worthy of remembrance, from the time of their defeat by the Saxons united to the Britons, in 449. They were established beyond the wall of Antoninus and the friths of Forth and Clyde; the Scots possessing the western, and the Picts the eastern part of that country. In the beginning of the sixth century, all the different clans of the Scots were united into one nation by Fergus, who seems to have been their first monarch. The Picts were equally formed into a nation, and had likewise their kings, but little or nothing is known of the history of the Scottish and Pictish princes during this period, except their names and length of their reign. The history of the Britons of Cornwall and Wales is no less obscure. Being under the government of many petty princes or chieftains, they were almost continually engaged in quarrels amongst themselves.

## HEPTARCHY.

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### KENT.

#### HENGIST, 457.

Hengist having founded this kingdom at that period, called over to Britanny his brother Octa and his nephew Ebessa, and established them in Northumberland.

465.

This prince obtains a great victory at Wippedfleet against the Britons commanded by Ambrosius; and another, still more decisive, eight years after. The Britons gave him no further molestation during the remainder of his life.

#### ÆSC, 488.

Æsc succeeded his father Hengist, and reigned 24 years in perfect tranquillity.

#### OCTO, 512.

The reign of Octo, son and successor of Æsc, lasted 22 years, during which the countries of Essex and Middlesex were taken from him by the East Saxons.

#### HERMENRIC, 534.

Succeeded his father Octo; and during a reign of 32 years, he performed nothing memorable.

#### ETHELBERT, 566.

Ethelbert, the son and successor of Hermenric, was the greatest of the Kentish kings. He obtained many victories, enlarged his dominions, and gained a great ascendancy over all the other Saxon princes. He died in 616, after a reign of 50 years.

#### EADBALD, 616.

Eadbald, son of Ethelbert, succeeded his father, but had not his abilities; under him and his successors a great part of the kingdom of Kent was invaded by the Mercian princes, and it became tributary to the kings of Mercia and Wessex in the year 685, or thereabouts, as those of Essex, Sussex, and East Anglia had done in 676.

### SUSSEX.

#### ÆLLA, 477.

This Saxon prince arrived in Britain, with his three sons and many martial followers, in 477. He defeated a body of Britons who attempted to prevent his landing, and obtained two more signal victories over them in 485 and 490. After these successes, he assumed the title of King, and founded the kingdom of Sussex, which included Surrey, Sussex, and the New Forest, and extended to the frontiers of Kent. He was succeeded, in 515, by his youngest son Cissa.

#### CISSA, 515.

Cissa had a very long reign; but before his death this little kingdom became so inconsiderable, that the name of his immediate successor is not even mentioned in history.

**WEST SAXONS, or  
WESSEX.****CERDIC, 493.**

This Saxon chieftain met with a more obstinate resistance than the other princes, owing to the superior courage and abilities of Ambrosius and the famous Prince Arthur, who led the British forces against him. The former fell in battle, with 5000 of his bravest troops, in 502.

Cerdic assumed the title of King in 519, and founded the kingdom of Wessex; but he was so often defeated by Arthur, that he made little or no progress until he received fresh reinforcements from the continent. He died in 534.

**EAST ANGLES.****UFFA, 527.**

This kingdom was founded by the bands of Saxon adventurers who landed at that period on the east coast of Britain. It was only in 575 that Uffa assumed the title of King of the East Angles; and from him all his successors to that kingdom had the surname of Uffans. In 676, the East Angles fell under the subjection of their powerful neighbours the kings of Wessex and Mercia. The kingdoms of Essex and Sussex shared the same fate.

**CYNRIC, 534.**

Cynric succeeded his father Cerdic, and had been the companion of all his toils and victories. This prince, during a reign of 26 years, gloriously supported, by many victories over the Britons, the illustrious character he had obtained of a brave and prudent general.

**CEAULIN, 560.**

This prince succeeded his father Cynric; and, more ambitious than him, he defeated Ethelbert, king of Kent, in 568, and by several victories added to his kingdom the countries now called Devonshire and Somersetshire. The other Saxon princes dreading his ambition, formed a confederacy against him, and he was defeated by them in 591. He died soon after.

**CEOLRIC, 591.**

Ceolric, nephew to Ceaulin, succeeded to his throne; but his reign lasted no longer than five years.

**CEOLWOLF, 596.**

Ceolwolf, brother of Ceolric, ascended the throne; and during his whole reign, which was fourteen years, he had wars with the Britons, the Saxons, the Scots and Picts, with various successes.

**CINIGESIL AND QUINCELM, 611.**

These two brothers, the nephews of Ceolwolf, succeeded him, and assumed jointly the government of that kingdom. They defeated the Britons in 614. Quincelm bearing impatiently the superiority which Edwin, King of Northumberland, had assumed over the other Saxon princes, sent him, under the title of ambassador, a man who had engaged to murder him with a poisoned dagger. The assassin having missed his aim, Edwin, justly incensed at this base attempt, marched an army into the territories of Wessex, and took a severe revenge. Cinigeril, having lost his brother Quincelm, died himself soon after, in the thirty-second year of his reign.

**CENWAL, 643.**

This prince, the son and successor of Cinigesil, soon after his accession divorced his queen, a sister to Penda, King of Mercia, who immediately invaded his dominions, defeated him in several battles, and at last obliged him to take shelter in the court of the King of East Anglia. Three years after, he found an opportunity of recovering his kingdom, and thenceforward defended it with great valour and success during a long reign of thirty-one years.

*WEST SAXONS, continued.***KENTWIN, 672.**

Cenwal having left no children, was succeeded by his brother Kentwin. He overran Somersetshire and Cornwall, and died without issue, after a reign of thirteen years.

**CEODWALLA, 685.**

Ceodwalla, a prince of the royal blood, succeeded Kentwin, and greatly enlarged his dominions by the entire reduction of Sussex and several successful inroads in Kent. In 688, being seized with remorse for the cruelties he had committed in his wars, he took a journey to Rome, where he died. He was succeeded by his cousin Ina, a prince of great merit.

**INA, 689.**

Ina obtained a great victory over the King of Wales, and made, in 694, the conquest of Cornwall and Somersetshire, which he annexed to his kingdom. He spent the last years of his reign in the beneficial works of peace; and at last retired with his queen to Rome, where he died in a monastery, after having left his crown to Ethelard, brother of his queen.

**ETHELARD, 729.**

Ethelard having defeated Oswald, another prince of the royal blood, and a pretender to the crown, reigned in peace to his death.

**CUTHRED, 741.**

Cuthred, the successor of Ethelard, obtained a great victory in 752 against Ethelbald, King of Mercia, and another over the Britons. His reign lasted only thirteen years.

**SEGEBERT, 754.**

Segebert, a cousin to Cuthred, succeeded him; but was driven from his throne by his own subjects, and murdered.

**CYNEWLF, 755.**

Cynewlf, a prince of the royal family, who had headed the insurrection against Segebert, succeeded him. He was defeated by Offa, King of Mercia, in 775, and slain in 784 by Cyneheard, a pretender to his crown, as being a brother to Segebert; but he was himself murdered, and cut to pieces with all his followers, by the nobility and people of the country.

**BRITHRIC, 784.**

Brithric, a prince of the royal family, succeeded Cynewlf, though Egbert, descended from Ingeld, brother to king Ina, had a preferable title. Brithric, conscious of it, endeavoured by various means to get Egbert into his hands, which obliged this prince to take shelter in the court of Charlemagne, from whence he was recalled in 800 by his nobility, after the death of Brithric, who having inadvertently tasted a liquor prepared by his queen to poison one of his favourites, died with him by the same means, and was succeeded by Egbert, who became the first monarch of the British nation.

**MERCIA.**

CRIDA, 527.

A band of Saxons invaded at that period the territories which formed this kingdom. Crida was the first of their chieftains who assumed the title of King of the Mercians, in the year 585.

PENDA, 626.

Penda, the grandson and successor of Crida, was one of the most bloody tyrants that ever disgraced royalty. He slew in battle three kings of the

East Angles. After having fought against the King of Wessex without any decided success, he entered into an alliance with Cadwallon, prince of Wales, invaded Northumberland with him at the head of a powerful army, on the 12th of October 633, defeated and killed the king Edwin. A few years after he declared war against Oswald, who had succeeded Edwin; and on the 5th of August, 642, a decisive battle was fought between them, in which Oswald was defeated and slain. Three years after, he invaded the kingdom of Wessex, defeated the king in several battles, and obliged him to abandon his country. In 654 he invaded Essex, killed the king, Annas, and cut almost his whole army to pieces. In the following year he entered Northumberland at the head of a powerful army; but the Northumbrians, commanded by their king Oswi, obtained a complete victory, and killed Penda; Oswi got possession of the whole kingdom of Mercia, and voluntarily bestowed the southern part of it upon Peada, the eldest son of Penda, and his own son-in-law; but this young prince being slain soon after by treachery, Oswi governed the kingdom of Mercia during three years by his lieutenants, who at that period were expelled by the nobles.

WULPHERE, 659.

The same revolution which expelled the lieutenants of Oswi raised Wulphere, the second son of Penda, to the throne of Mercia. He lived in perfect peace with Oswi to the end of his reign, which lasted sixteen years.

ETHELRED, 675.

This prince, the youngest son of Penda, having succeeded his brother, turned his arms against Egfred, king of Northumberland, and after a bloody battle, concluded a peace with him. Thenceforward he lived in perfect tranquillity and acts of devotion to the end of his reign. He descended the throne, and became a monk in the year 704.

CENRED, 704.

This prince, who succeeded his cousin Ethelred, was seized soon after with the fashionable frenzy of those times. He went to Rome, in the fifth year of his reign, to embrace the monastic life.

CEOLRED, 709.

Ceolred, the son of Ethelred, succeeded Cenred, and reigned seven years.

ETHELBALD, 716.

This prince being next heir to the crown, succeeded Ceolred; and, after a reign of nearly forty years, was slain in battle.

OFFA, 755.

Beornred usurped the crown of Mercia, but was dethroned before the end of the year by a general insurrection headed by Offa, a brave young prince, who was raised to the throne by universal consent. He reduced the kingdom of Kent under his subjection in 774; defeated the King of Wessex in 775; and enlarged his dominions still further by an act of the most horrid treachery. His daughter being asked in marriage by the King of the East Angles, he accepted the proposals, and invited him to the court of Mercia. When he arrived there, he was basely murdered, and Offa annexed his dominions to his own. He died after a reign of thirty-nine years.

**EAST SAXONS, or ESSEX.**

ERKENWIN, 527.

The territories which composed this kingdom were chiefly dismembered from that of Kent. Erkenwin was the first king of Essex; but the time when he began to reign, the actions he performed, and the names of his successors, are equally unknown. In 676 that small kingdom was under the subjection of the Mercian kings.

*MERCIA continued.*

EGFRID, 794.

Egfrid, who succeeded his father Offa, died in less than five months after him, and left his throne to Kenewlf, a prince of the royal family, who was the last king of Mercia; as after his death, in 819, that kingdom became a scene of annual revolutions, which soon brought on its ruin.

*NORTHUMBERLAND.*

IDA, 457.

Though a colony of Saxons was settled in that part of Britain towards the middle of the fifth century, none of their chieftains had the presumption to assume the title of King until they received a powerful reinforcement from Germany, under the command of Ida, in 547, a prince of great wisdom and valour, who assumed the royalty, and founded the kingdom of Northumberland, or rather of Bernicia, the most northerly of the Saxons. It included not only the present county of Northumberland, but those of the Merse and the three Lothians. In the mean time Ælla, another Saxon chieftain, having subdued all the country between the Humber and the Tyne, founded there another state, which was called the kingdom of Deira, and was soon after united to the former by the marriage of Acca, a daughter of Ælla, with Ethelfrid, the grandson of Ida, who, having expelled her brother Edwin, added his territories to his own, and thereby founded the powerful kingdom of Northumberland at the death of his father-in-law.

ETHELFRID, 590.

Ethelfrid succeeded his father Athelric, son of Ida, in the kingdom of Bernicia, and thus united the two Northumbrian kingdoms into one. He engaged in a long war against the neighbouring British princes.

EDWIN, 617.

Prince Edwin, assisted by the king of the East Angles, obtained a complete victory over Ethelfrid, who being slain in the battle, left to the conqueror the peaceable possession of the whole kingdom of Northumberland. In 633, Penda, king of Mercia, invaded Northumberland; and after a furious battle, in which Edwin was killed, the kingdom was divided between a cousin of Edwin and the eldest son of Ethelfrid; but the next year the two princes were killed by Cadwallon, prince of Wales, who usurped the whole kingdom.

OSWALD, 635.

Oswald, the second son of Ethelfrid, at the head of a small army of brave and resolute men, assaulted, defeated, and slew the usurper, and took possession of the whole kingdom, which was soon restored to its former prosperity by his mild and wise administration. Penda, out of jealousy of Oswald's power, declared war against him, which was carried on for some years with various successes. At last a decisive battle was fought on the 5th of August, 642, when Oswald was defeated and slain. Oswi, his brother, succeeded him in Bernicia, and Oswin, his cousin, in Deira.

OSWI, 655.

Penda having entered Northumberland at the head of a powerful army, Oswi collected his forces, though very inferior in number; and after a most desperate battle, in which Penda was slain, obtained a complete victory, and not only preserved his dominions, but took possession of the kingdom of Mercia, which he kept till the year 659, when Wulphere, the second son of Penda, was raised to the throne by the Mercian nobles.

EGFRID, 679.

Egfrid, son and successor of Oswi, having sustained a bloody war against Ethelred, king of Mercia, turned his arms against the Scots and Picts: in 684 he gained some advantages against the former; but having ventured too far into that country, he was defeated and slain, and almost his whole army cut in pieces by the Picts.

ALDFRID, 685.

Aldfrid, natural brother to Egfrid, succeeded him, and being more ad-

*NORTHUMBERLAND continued.*

dicted to letters than to arms, he governed his subjects with wisdom and justice, and lived in peace with his neighbours to the end of his life, in December 704.

OSRED, 704.

Osred, son and successor of Aldfrid, was about eight years of age at his father's death; Berectfrid was regent of the kingdom during his minority; but the young monarch had scarcely reached his majority when he was slain.

CENRED, 716.

Immediately after the death of Osred, Cenred, a prince of the royal blood, seized the crown, of which he kept possession only two years.

OSRIC, 718.

This prince, who was a second son of Aldfrid, succeeded Cenred, and died in 726, without having performed any thing memorable.

CEOLWOLF, 726.

Ceolwolf, brother to Cenred, succeeded Osric, and retired into a monastery after a reign of eleven years.

CADBERT, 737.

Cadbert, cousin to Ceolwolf, succeeded him, and was the last king of the Northumbrians who made any considerable figure by the spirit and success with which he defended his southern frontiers against Ethelbald, king of Mercia; but being seized with the epidemic madness of those times, he resigned his crown to his son Osulf, in 758, and retired into a monastery, where he lived long enough to see the ruin which this unwarrantable step brought upon his family and country.

OSULF, 759.

This unfortunate prince was murdered by his own domestics before the end of the year.

ETHELWOLD, 760.

Ethelwold was not related to the royal family, but was advanced to the throne by the favour of the people. In 765 he was obliged to resign it in favour of Alchred, the son of Osulf.

ALCHRED, 765.

After a reign of nine years, Alchred was expelled in his turn by Ethelred, the son of Ethelwold.

ETHELRED, 774.

This usurper was driven out, in the fifth year of his reign, by Elfwold, the brother of Alchred.

ELFWOLD, 779.

The virtues of this prince could not preserve him from the fate of his predecessors; he was barbarously murdered in 788 by one of his own generals, and succeeded by his nephew Osred, the son of Alchred.

OSRED, 788.

One year was scarcely elapsed when Osred was dethroned and thrust into a monastery by the nobility; who recalled Ethelred, who had been expelled about ten years before.

ETHELRED, 789.

Ethelred, to preserve himself from a second expulsion, got into his hands the two sons of the late king, Elfwold, and murdered them. Osred, his predecessor, being taken prisoner in an attempt he made to recover his crown, shared also the same fate. Still farther to secure himself against his enemies, he married a daughter of Offa, the powerful king of Mercia; but in spite of all these precautions, he was murdered by his own subjects in the year 794.

So long a succession of revolutions and murders in the royal family occasioned a total dissolution of government in Northumberland, as it deterred the most ambitious princes from aspiring to such a dangerous throne.



*Observations on that Period.*

The ferocious and destructive wars which attended the Saxon invasion never ceased until they had obtained possession of the finest provinces of Britain by the complete extirpation of their ancient inhabitants. In the course of these wars, the cities, one after another, were laid in ruins, almost all the monuments of Roman art and industry destroyed or defaced, and the most skilful artists of all kinds finding neither security nor employment in the island, fled to the continent. But the Britons discovered in the laws enacted by the Anglo-Saxons the origin of many ancient customs and institutions still existing, and in the form of their political government the principal foundations of the present free and happy constitution of this empire; thankful for so valuable a legacy, they have forgiven their ancestors for all the mischiefs of their invasion.

The inhabitants of Britain during this period were divided into different classes. The lowest was that of the slaves; who, with their wives and children, were the property of their masters. Some of them were called *villani*, or *villans*, because they dwelt at the villages belonging to their master, whose lands they cultivated, and to which they were so thoroughly annexed that they were transferable with them from one owner to another. Others were domestic slaves, and employed in the house of their master. Some of these, belonging to the king or the nobility, were taught the mechanic arts, which they practised for the benefit of their owners. Besides those who were slaves by birth, many others fell into that wretched state by the fate of war, or by forfeiting their freedom for their crimes, or even by contracting debts which they were unable to pay.

The next class or rank of people in Britain was

composed of the slaves who had either purchased or by any other means had obtained their liberty. They were called *frilazia*. Many inhabitants of towns and cities in England were of this class, which was a kind of middle state between slaves and freemen.

The third class consisted of those who were completely free, and descended from a long race of freemen. They were called *ceorls*, and constituted a middle class between the two lowest and the nobility. They might pursue any way of life they pleased; but in general they applied to agriculture, or farming the lands of the nobility; and if any of them prospered so well as to acquire the property of five hides of land, upon which he had a church, a kitchen, a bell-house, and a great gate, and obtained a seat and office in the king's court, he was considered as a nobleman or thane. If he had attained the priest's orders, or if, applying to trade, he had made three voyages beyond sea in a ship of his own, and with a cargo belonging to him, he was also advanced to the dignity of a thane, a Saxon word which signifies a minister or honourable retainer.

All those above the rank of *ceorls* were thanes. There were among them several degrees of nobility, the first of which was that of those who being thanes by birth were considered as the genuine descendants and representatives of the ancient Saxon companions of their princes. Their obligations on account of their lands were to attend the king with their followers in all military expeditions, to assist in building and defending the royal castles, and in keeping the bridges and highways in proper repair.

The different classes in the magistracy were still more numerous, and admirably combined to insure good order, tranquillity, and submission to the laws. Every father of a family was a kind of magistrate, and had a great degree of authority over his wife

and children, for the conduct of whom he was responsible to the public, and obliged to pay fines for all the crimes which they committed. If a stranger staid above three days and nights in any family, the head of the family acquired the same authority over him, and became answerable for his conduct.

One of the lowest public magistrates was called the *borsholder*, or *tithing-man*, whose authority extended only over one tithing or decennary, consisting of ten families. Every freeman who wished to enjoy the protection of the laws, and not to be treated as a vagabond, was obliged to be admitted as a member of the tithing where he and his family resided; and his admission depended entirely on his maintaining a good reputation, because all the members of each tithing were mutual pledges for each other, and the whole tithing sureties to the king for the good behaviour of all its members. The thanes were not members of any tithing, as the family of a thane was considered as a tithing within itself, and the thane responsible to the public for all its members. Each tithing formed a little commonwealth within itself, and chose one of its wisest members for its head. He was entitled to assemble the members of the tithing, presided at their meetings, and put their sentences into execution. In case of appeal, the cause was deferred to the next superior court, which was the hundredary, or the court of the hundred. The jurisdiction of that court extended over a district that contained ten tithings; and the authority and functions of the hundredary in his court were the same as that of the tithing-man in his tithing. The hundredary was almost always a thane, or nobleman, residing within the hundred, and elected by the other members; that is to say, by all the members of the several tithings within the hundred; he was their captain in times of war, and their civil magistrate in times

of peace. In the hundred-courts, the archdeacon, and sometimes the bishop, presided with the hundredary, and both civil and regular affairs were there regulated. The appeals from this court were brought to the next superior, called the *trithing*, which contained three, four, or more hundreds. That court was composed of all the members of the several hundred-courts within the trithing, and the magistrate who presided at it was called the trithingman, or lathgrieve.

In the larger divisions of a kingdom, which were called *shires*, or counties, the next magistrate above the trithingman was the alderman, or, as he was called in the Danish times, the *earl*. This office, commonly enjoyed by the thanes of the largest estates and most ancient families, was of the highest dignity and greatest power among the Anglo-Saxons. The earl was a little king within his shire, and assumed the titles of sub-king and prince in subscribing charters and other deeds. When he appeared at the head of the military forces of his shire in times of war, he was called a duke, or heretogen, which signifies a commander of an army. In the first times of the Heptarchy, the aldermen, or earls, were appointed by the king; and it was not for life, but only during the pleasure of the sovereign and their own good behaviour. It appears, however, that towards the end of this period, owing to the increasing power of, rather than to any formal change in, the constitution, the great earls were most commonly, though not always, succeeded by their sons in their earldoms. It became also very common for them to possess two, three, or more earldoms, which rendered them too powerful for subjects, and enabled one of them (Harold) to usurp the throne.

The court in which the alderman or earl of the shire presided was called the *shiregemote*, a court of

great importance and authority at that time, a kind of little parliament, in which a great variety of business, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, was transacted. One great or general shiregemote was held in every county in the spring, and another in autumn, at a stated time and place, where the alderman of the shire, with his assessor the shiregerieve, the bishop of the diocese, the thanes, magistrates, lawmen, and all the clergy and landholders of the county were obliged to be present.

The chief magistrate in all the states established by the Anglo-Saxons was called the *cyning*, or *king*, a title of the most honourable import in their language, as including the ideas of wisdom, power, and valour. His duties were to administer justice to his subjects, with the assistance of his court or council, in times of peace, and to command the armies of the state in times of war. The princes who performed these two offices with great abilities and success, had the greatest influence and authority; but their prerogatives were limited by the laws of the country, and none of them ever pretended to the power of making laws or imposing taxes without the consent of their *wittenagemots*, or assemblies of the great and wise men of their respective kingdoms, as is evinced by several Saxon laws which are still extant. These wittenagemots, or great councils, were assembled by the Saxon kings, who fixed the place and time of their meetings, presided at them in person, proposed the subjects of their deliberations, and executed their decrees. When the kingdom was suddenly invaded, the king might, by his own authority, put himself at the head of his troops to repel the invaders, but he could neither declare war nor conclude peace without the consent of the wittenagemot.

It appears to have been one of the royal prerogatives in the times of the heptarchy, and even after

the establishment of the monarchy, to appoint the aldermen, and other civil and military officers; but according to the Chron. Saxon. and Wilking's *Leges Saxon.* this power seems to have been afterwards vested in the wittenagemot; and the laws of Edward the Confessor say expressly, § 35, that the heretoges, or dukes, and the sheriffs, were chosen by the freeholders in the folkmote, a county-court which was assembled once a year, and where all the freeholders swore allegiance to the king.

The veneration for the clergy, after the introduction of Christianity, was so great, that the Anglo-Saxon kings left to them for some ages the government of the church and the nomination to ecclesiastical offices; by degrees, however, they found it necessary, for the peace and good government of the state, to interfere more directly in ecclesiastical elections, and to take care that the dignities of the church should be filled by men of peaceable dispositions, and well affected to their persons and government. They were so successful in their endeavours to obtain the direction of ecclesiastical elections, that they acquired, first the right of approving, and at length that of appointing the chief dignitaries of the church.

As the king was the chief magistrate, so the wittenagemot was the highest court, in which, with the king at its head, the sovereignty resided. During the heptarchy there were as many wittenagemots as there were kingdoms. In this assembly, both ecclesiastical and political laws were made; taxes for the maintenance of the clergy and the support of government were imposed; civil and criminal causes of the greatest moment were determined, and the most important affairs of the kingdom finally regulated. All the power and wisdom of the state were presumed to be collected in the wittenagemot, which was therefore the guide and guar-

dian of the kingdom, and took cognizance of every thing that affected its safety and prosperity, as the general assemblies of the several states had formerly done in Germany, from whence the Anglo-Saxon kings had brought over this institution, as well as all those abovementioned, and which were equally adopted by all other nations of Gothic and German origin, which founded kingdoms in different parts of Europe, on the ruins of the Roman empire.

In the most ancient times, all the warriors and priests of every little state were the only members of the wittenagemot. But after the conquest and division of the lands among the chieftains and their followers, many of them who had been common soldiers receiving but a small portion of land, retired to their little farms, where they formed that new order of men unknown in Germany, and called *ceorls*. They no longer assisted at the wittenagemot, though they were not excluded from it by any positive law, but only by their poverty; for as soon as they acquired such an estate as enabled them to live with ease and dignity, they were declared by an express law to be thanes, and members of the wittenagemots. The qualification, in point of estate, required by that law, was the property of five hides of land; but it was gradually raised, and in the reign of Edward the Confessor it was fixed at forty hides.

Besides all the considerable proprietors of land who were entitled to attend the public councils of the nation, all the clergy, the aldermen, and magistrates, were, by virtue of their offices, and on account of their wisdom and knowledge of the laws, members of this great assembly, which for this reason was called the *wittenagemot*, or *assembly of the wise men*. Its members enjoyed several privileges, and special laws secured the liberty and safety of their persons in going to, attending at, and return-

ing from these assemblies; but such of them as were notorious thieves were not entitled to the benefit of those laws. The oddity of this exception is very remarkable, but its necessity is easily conceived when we consider that Edmund, one of the best Anglo-Saxon kings, lost his life in 946 in excluding from his own table a man of this character.

From this brief statement of this part of the Anglo-Saxon constitution respecting their magistrates and courts of justice, gradually ascending from the court of the decennary to the wittenagemot, it appears to have been a more regular and solid fabric than could have been expected from such barbarous artists; but it was the work of many nations and of many ages, and arose by slow degrees to that beauty and firmness so justly admired.

The succession to the crown in all the kingdoms of the heptarchy was very regular at the beginning, the eldest son succeeding his father without interruption for several generations. But by degrees greater and greater breaches were made in the right of succession. At first it was thought no great stretch for the brother of the deceased prince to supplant his infant nephew, as warlike, unpolished nations could hardly form an idea of being governed by a child, or by a regent in his name. This breach becoming familiar, they proceeded to other deviations, and sometimes a prince of the royal family who was at a great distance from the throne took possession of it to the exclusion of many who were nearer; but still the veneration of the people for the family of the founder of the state was so great, that no man who was not of that family dared to cast an ambitious eye on the crown. At last, however, that veneration was so weakened by length of time, and by the vices, follies, and quarrels of the several royal families, that the thrones of all the kingdoms of the heptarchy, that of Wessex only excepted,



were seized by bold usurpers, who had no connection with the reigning family; which first involved these kingdoms in confusion, and at last in ruin.

The Anglo-Saxons, at their arrival in Britain, as all the northern nations who invaded and subdued the several provinces of the Roman empire, had no written laws, but were governed, as their ancestors had been for many ages, by certain well-known and established customs which had the force of laws. After these nations were firmly established in their new settlements, at a great distance from each other, their laws began by degrees to become a little different. But this difference, for several centuries, consisted chiefly in the various rates of the fines that were exacted from those who were guilty of certain crimes, according to the greater plenty or scarcity of money in their respective countries. When a person removed from his native country to another, he did not change his law, but his life and limbs continued to be valued at the rate fixed by the laws of his native country; and any injury that was done to him was compensated according to these laws, and not according to those of the country into which he had removed and received the injury. Thus while the fine or mulct for cutting the nose of a Spaniard was thirteen marks, the same injury on the nose of an Englishman cost only twelve shillings (Wilkins's *Leges Saxon.* pp. 4 and 71). When the Anglo-Saxons began to put their laws in writing, they confined themselves to putting down with great brevity some of the most capital points, leaving many others in their former state, which gave birth to that important distinction between the statute, or written, and the common, or unwritten law, which still subsists.

## APPENDIX.

*The most important Occurrences of this Period are proved by the Testimony of the following Authors.*

Gregorius Turonensis, l. 1, 2, and l. 9, cap. 26.	Bede, l. 1, from cap. 15 to 33, l. 2, from cap. 1 to 22, l. 3, cap. 9, 24, 26, 29, l. 4, cap. 6, 12, 26, l. 5.
Henry Huntingdon, l. 2, 3, 4.	cap. 7, 16, 21, 22, 23.
Will. Malmesbury, l. 1, cap. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.	Tacit. de Moribus Germanorum, cap. 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 24, 25.
Gildas, cap. 11, 23, 24, 25, 26.	Jul. Cæsar. de Bell. Gall. l. 6, cap. 19.
Chronic. Saxon. passim.	
Wilkins. Leges Saxonicz, passim.	

## MEMORANDA

*Of some principal Contemporary Events which occurred in the other States of Europe.*

A. D.

- 476 The Western Empire is entirely destroyed 523 years after the battle of Pharsalia. Several new states are established upon its ruins, in Italy and other countries, by the Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other barbarians, under whom the works of the learned are destroyed and literature extinguished.
- 481 Clovis, son of Childeric, and grandson of Merovee, consolidates by his victories their dominion and monarchical power in Gaul. In the year 486, he defeated the Romans, commanded by Siagrius, at Soissons, where he established the seat of the monarchy. In 496, he won the important battle of Tolbiac, near Cologne, against the Germans; after which he was baptised, according to a vow he had been persuaded to make by his wife Clotilda, daughter of Childeric, king of the Burgundians. He immediately introduced Christianity into France, and was then the only Christian king in the empire both of the East and of the West. He afterwards pushed his conquests beyond the Wöhal and the Rhine. The emperor Anastasius conferred upon him the double dignity of Roman patriciate and consul, and sent him a golden crown in token of his friendship. Some time after, Clovis made a present of that crown

## A. D.

- to the pope Symmachus, and it is the first of the three which compose the tiara of the Roman pontiff. The second was added to it by Bonifacius VIII, and the third by John XXII.
- 497 The Armoricans break the Roman yoke, and submit to Clovis, king of France.
- 507 Alaric, king of the Goths, is killed by Clovis, in the battle of Vouglé, near Poitiers.
- 511 Redaction of the Salic law by Clovis.
- 513 Constantinople besieged by Vitalianus, whose fleet is burned by a speculum of brass.
- 516 The computing of time by the Christian æra is introduced by Dionysius the monk.
- 529 The code of the emperor Justinian is published.
- 534 Belizarius, general of Justinian, invades and subdues the Vandal kingdom in Africa.
- 568 The kingdom of the Lombards is established in Italy, nearly sixteen years after the extinction of that of the Ostrogoths by the death of Teias, their last king.
- 622 Mahomet, a false prophet, flies from Mecca to Medina, in Arabia, in the 54th year of his age and 10th of his ministry, when he laid the foundation of the Saracen empire, and from whom the Mahometan princes to this day claim their descent. His followers compute their time from this æra, which in Arabic is called *Hegira* (the flight).
- 634 The mayors of the palace in France usurp the king's authority.
- 637 Jerusalem is taken by the Saracens, or followers of Mahomet.
- 640 Alexandria, in Egypt, is taken by the Saracens, and its famous library burnt by the order of Omar, their caliph, or prince.
- 688 Pepin le Bref, mayor of the palace in France, and chief of the Carlovingian dynasty, assumes, and keeps during his life, the whole of the royal power and authority, leaving only to Thieri III, the first of the kings called *Fainéants*, and after him to Clovis III, and Childebert III, his two sons, the mere name and title of kings.
- 713 The Saracens conquer Spain.
- 751 Pepin le Bref is proclaimed king of France at Soissons, and is the first of the French kings whose coronation was performed with all the ceremonies of the church. He was consecrated by Saint Boniface, archbishop of

A. D.

Mayence, and the deposition of the legitimate king, Childeric III. was approved by the pope Zachary.

- 754 The pope Stephen III. comes into France, attended by an ambassador of the Emperor of the East (Constantine Copronymus), to implore the assistance of Pepin against the king of the Lombards, who had invaded the exarchat of Ravenna and threatened Rome, which the emperor Constantine was unable to protect, as he was then engaged in the Armenian war, and advised the pope to apply to Pepin. In the mean time Stephen consecrates as kings of France Charles and Carloman, the two sons of Pepin, and gives him a final absolution for the forfeiture of his allegiance towards his legitimate prince. Astolphus, king of the Lombards, frightened by the menaces of the French monarch, engages to restore the exarchat to the emperors of Constantinople. But in the following year, far from keeping his promise, he besieges Rome. The pope, the clergy and laity of Rome apply again to Pepin, and confer upon him and his two sons the Roman patriciate, a dignity the most eminent of all in the empire. Pepin brings an army into Italy, against the opinion of the states general; which did not approve of that war; besieges Pavie, where was Astolphus, and compels him to give up the exarchat, of which Pepin makes a present to the Holy See, in spite of the protestations of the emperor, who maintained that the exarchat was a province belonging to his crown.
- 774 Charlemagne crosses the Alps, beats and routs the army of the king of the Lombards, makes him prisoner, and assumes for himself the crown of Lombardy. The pope, Adrian I. issues a decree, by which he acknowledges Charlemagne as king of Italy and patriciate of Rome. In the next year, the same pope grants to Charlemagne, in a council held at Rome, the right of disposing of the elections of the popes, and of confirming them.
- 778 Loup, duke of Gascony, defeats the rear guard of the army of Charlemagne in the valley of Roncevaux, where the famous Roland was killed, to whom the ancient romances and the poems of Ariosto have given so much celebrity.
- 800 The pope Leo III. consecrates Charlemagne, and in-

A. D.

vests him with the empire of Germany, afterwards called the Western Empire.

- 803 The empress Irene, widow of Leo IV. son of Constantine Copronymus, means to marry Charlemagne, to unite in the same hands both the Eastern and Western Empires, and finds means to transmit to him the offer of her hand, which Charlemagne, then a widower, consents to accept, and sends ambassadors to inform her of his acquiescence. But the grandees of the Eastern Empire, apprehensive of seeing its seat transferred again to Rome, prevent the execution of the plan by arresting and sending into exile the empress Irene, and by proclaiming the patriciate Nicephorus, a Greek by his birth, Emperor of the East. From thence the Eastern Empire has since been called the Greek Empire, or the Low Empire.

- 814 Charlemagne dies on the 28th of January, and is buried at Aix-la-Chapelle. The limits of his empire were the Atlantic ocean and the Ebro to the west, the Mediterranean sea to the south, the Germanic ocean and the Eyder to the north, the Raab and the mountains of Bohemia to the east. It included 1st, all Gaul; 2dly, the county of Barcelona, in Spain; 3dly, the continent of Italy, as far as Benevento; 4thly, all Germany, the Low Countries, and part of Hungary.

The winter dress of Charlemagne (says Eginhard) was a plain coat of outer skin over a coarse woollen tunick, edged with silk; he wore on his shoulders a thick blue mantle, and his legs were covered with bands of various colours crossing one upon another.

- 826 Harold, whom the emperor Lewis le Debonnaire had made king of Denmark, is dethroned by his subjects for being a Christian and having been baptised at Mentz.

*A list of the principal Learned or Illustrious Men who lived during that Period, pointing out the Year of their Death.*

A. D.	A. D.
735 Bede, a priest of Northumberland, historian of the Saxons, Scots, &c.	575 Cassiodorus.
543 St Benedict.	658 Fredegair.
524 Boethius, the Roman poet and Platonic philosopher.	595 Gregory of Tours.
	660 Marculfe.
	520 Procopius.
	482 Sidonius Apollinaris.

*A list of the Cotemporary Princes, with the date of their Death.*

<i>Popes.</i>		<i>Emperors of the East.</i>					
Felix III.	492			Sigebert II.	650	Tulgoa	642
Gelasius I.	496	Zeno	491	Clovis II.	656	Reccuind	672
Anastasius II.	498	Anastasius I.	518	Clotaire III.	670	Vamba	680
Symmachus	514	Justinus the		Childeric II.	673	Ervice	687
Hormisdas	523	Cow-herd	527	Dagobert II.	678	Egira	702
John I.	526	Justinianus	565	Thieri III.	690	Vitisa	711
Felix IV.	530	Justinus II.	578	Clovis III.	695	Roderic, the	
Boñifacius II.	531	Tiberius	580	Childebert III.	711	last of the	
John II.	535	Mauricius	602	Dagobert III.	716	Goth kings	
Agapet I.	536	Phocas	610	Chilperic II.	720	in Spain	712
St. Silverus	540	Herodius	641	Thieri IV.	737		
Vigil	555	Constans	668	Childeric III.	734	<i>Kings of Spain, a</i>	
Pelagius I.	559	Constantine		Pepin	768	<i>new Dynasty.</i>	
John III.	572	Pogonate	683	Carloman	771	Pelagius	737
Benedict I.	577	Justinianus II.	711	Charlemagne	814	Alphonse I.	757
Pelagius II.	590	Ph. Bardane	713	Lewis I.	840	Frocla,	768
St. Gregory the Great	604	Anastasius II.	714			Aurelio	774
Sabinianus	605	Theodosius III.	716	<i>Kings of Italy.</i>		Sile	783
Bonifacius IV.	614	Leo Isauricus	741	Odoacre	493	Mauregat	788
Deodatus	617	Constantine		Theodoric	526	Veremond I.	794
Bonifacius V.	623	Copronimus	775	Atalaric	534	Alphonse the	
Honorius I.	638	Leo IV.	780	Amalasonte	534	Chaste	845
Severinus	640	Constantine VI.	797	Theodat	537		
John IV.	641	Irene, empress	802	Vitiges	547	<i>Kings of Sweden.</i>	
Theodoros	649	Nicephorus		Ildebalde	542	Biom	816
Martin I.	654	begins the		Eraric	542	Brantamond	827
Eugenius I.	656	Greek em-		Totila	553		
Vitalianus	669	pire, called		Teias, the last		<i>Kings of the Lon-</i>	
Deodatus	676	the Low		of the Os-		<i>bards in Italy,</i>	
Domnus I.	678	Empire	811	trogoth		<i>from the Year</i>	
Agatho	682	Stauracius	811	kings in		568.	
Leo II.	684	Michael Eu-		Italy	553	Agiluf	616
Benedict II.	685	ropalate	813			Adeluald	626
John V.	686	Leo the Ar-		<i>Kings of the Goths</i>		Ariovald	638
Conon	687	minian	820	<i>in Spain from the</i>		Rotharis	654
Sergius I.	701	Michael the		<i>Year 414.</i>		Rodoald	659
John VI.	705	Stammerer	829	Evaric	484	Arigent	661
John VII.	707			Alaric	507	Gondipert	662
Sisinnus	708			Gefalric	511	Grimoald	673
Constantine	714	<i>Kings of France.</i>		Amalric	531	Garibald	675
Gregory II.	731	Clovis	511	Theudis	548	Pertarit	691
Gregory III.	741	Clodomir	524	Athanagilde	567	Cunibert	703
Zachary	752	Thieri I.	534	Liuba	572	Luitbert	704
Stephen II.	752	Childebert I.	558	Leovigilde	585	Aribert	712
Stephen III.	757	Clotaire	562	Recarede	601	Ansprand	717
Paul I.	767	Caribert	566	Liuba II.	603	Luitbrand	744
Stephen IV.	772	Sigebert	575	Vetricus	610	Hildebrand	744
Adrianus I.	795	Childeric I.	584	Gondomar	612	Rochis	750
Leo III.	816	Gontran	593	Sizcbut	621	Astolph	756
Stephen V.	817	Childebert II.	596	Recarede II.	621	Didler	774
Paschal I.	824	Theodebert II.	612	Scintilla and		<i>When Charle-</i>	
Eugenius II.	827	Clotaire II.	628	his brothers	631	<i>magne assumed</i>	
		Charibert	631	Richemer	633	<i>the crown</i>	
		Dagobert I.	638	Sisenand	636	<i>of Lombardy.</i>	
				Chintilla	648		

*PERIOD THE THIRD.*

FROM THE END OF THE HEPTARCHY TO THE REIGN OF  
WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

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*EGBERT.*

*Ann. 827 to 831.*

EGBERT in his youth had been obliged to withdraw secretly into France, to prevent the effects of the great jealousy he had given to Brithric, the reigning prince of the West Saxons, both because he seemed by his birth better entitled to the crown, and because he had acquired in an eminent degree the affections of the people. He was well received by Charlemagne; and by living in the court and serving in the army of that illustrious monarch, the most able and most generous that had appeared in Europe during several ages, he had acquired those accomplishments which afterwards enabled him to make such a shining figure on the throne by the splendor of his victories and the wisdom and energy of his administration. His early misfortunes thus proved of singular advantage to him. The inhabitants of his kingdoms had lost all desire of revolting from that monarch, and considered a union in government as opening to them the agreeable prospect of future tranquillity. But such is the instability of human affairs, and the weakness of man's best conjectures, that Egbert was hardly settled on his united throne when both he and his subjects began to be alarmed at the approach of new enemies, and the island exposed to fresh invasions.

Before the end of the heptarchy, those nations

who had possessed the countries bordering on the Baltic had began to infest the western coasts of Europe. They invaded some provinces of France; and, on account of their coming from the north, they were known under the general name of *Normans*. Emboldened by their successes on the continent, they were tempted to visit England in their frequent excursions. The Danes chiefly levelled their fury against that country. Their first appearance on its shores had been in the year 787. They landed in the kingdom of Wessex, to take a view of the state of the country; and when summoned by the magistrate of the place to appear before the king, and account for their enterprise, they fled to their ships for safety, after having committed some small depredations. The next alarm was given to Northumberland, in the year 794, when a body of these pirates plundered a monastery; but their ships being much damaged by a storm, and their leader slain in a skirmish, they were at last defeated by the inhabitants, and the remainder of them put to the sword.

*Ann. 832 to 838.*

Five years after the accession of Egbert to the throne of England, the Danes landed in the isle of Shepey, and after having pillaged it, escaped with impunity. The next year they landed again in England from thirty-five ships, and were encountered by Egbert, at Charmouth, in Dorsetshire; The battle was bloody, and to the great disadvantage of the Danes; they, however, maintained their post, and thence made good their retreat to their ships. Having thus learned by experience that they must expect a vigorous resistance from this warlike prince, they entered into an alliance with the Britons of Cornwall; and landing two years after in



that country, made an inroad with their confederates into the county of Devon, where they were met, and totally defeated, by Egbert, at Henges Down, near Kellington. By this victory he would have secured the kingdom from invasion for some time; but his death, which soon after took place, seemed to put an end to the success of the English army, and to invite the enemy to renew his devastation.

Under his reign the Scots and Picts had a decisive battle, in which the former prevailed, and in the year 838, both kingdoms were united by Kenneth, which begins the second period of the Scottish history.

Egbert was succeeded by his son Ethelwolf.

#### ETHELWOLF, second King from the Heptarchy.

*Ann. 839 to 850,*

Ethelwolf had neither the energy nor the abilities of his father. Educated in a cloister, and destined to the monastic life, he was better qualified for governing a convent than a kingdom. He began his reign with delivering to his eldest son, Athelston, the provinces of Essex, Kent, and Sussex, to govern them with the title of King. In November 844, he called at Winchester an assembly of all the great men of his hereditary kingdom of Wessex, both of the clergy and laity, and, with their consent, made a solemn grant to the church of the tenth part of all the lands belonging to the crown, free from all taxes, impositions, and obligations of every kind. In 855, after his return from Rome, he extended this grant to the other tributary kingdoms which then composed the English monarchy. A fleet of Danes, consisting of thirty-three sail, appeared at Southampton, but were repulsed by Wolfhere, go-

vernor of the neighbouring county. Soon after, another band, landing at Portsmouth, was routed by Æthelhem, governor of Dorsetshire, after a bloody engagement, in which he lost his life. Next year these barbarous savages made several inroads into East Anglia, Lindesey, and Kent; and though sometimes defeated, they plundered the country, and carried off their booty. These incursions became almost annual.

*Ann. 851 to 853.*

The Danes invade England with a very numerous army, which is put to rout with great slaughter by Ceorle, governor of Devonshire, in a battle fought at Wiganburgh. King Athelston attacks at sea, near Sandwich, another band of them, sinks nine of their ships, and puts the rest to flight. A body of them; however, venture, for the first time, to take up winter quarters in the Isle of Thanet, where they receive, in the next spring, a strong reinforcement of their countrymen in 350 vessels. They begin the campaign by burning the cities of London and Canterbury; and having put to flight the troops commanded by Brithric, governor of Mercia under the title of King, they march into the heart of Surrey, and lay every place waste around them. Ethelwolf, impelled by the urgency of the danger, marches against them, at the head of the West Saxons, and carrying with him his second son Ethelbald; gives them battle at Okeley, and gains a bloody victory over them. Nevertheless they still maintain their settlement in the Isle of Thanet, and being attacked by the governors of Kent and Surrey, they gain a complete victory, after having killed both the governors; whence they remove to the Isle of Shepey, in which they take up their winter quarters.

*Ann. 854 to 857.*

This alarming crisis hinders not Ethelwolf from making a pilgrimage to Rome with his fourth and favourite son Alfred, then only six years of age. He passes there twelve months in the exercise of devotion, and on his return home marries Judith, daughter of the emperor Charles the Bald. On his landing in England he finds that his eldest son Athelstan being dead, Ethelbald, his second son, who had assumed the government, had formed with many of the nobles the project of excluding him from the throne. The people were divided between the two princes, and a bloody civil war, added to all the other calamities under which the English laboured seemed inevitable. Ethelwolf prevents it by yielding to the greater part of his son's pretensions. He makes a partition of the kingdom, takes to himself the eastern part, which was the least considerable and the most exposed, and delivers over to Ethelbald the sovereignty of the western. Having thus prevented all dissensions, he summoned a council of the states of the kingdom to take into consideration the claims of the ecclesiastics, who pretended that the Jewish law conferred a tenth of all the produce of the land on the priesthood, and that this donation conveyed a perpetual property, inherent by divine right, in those who officiated at the altar. They ventured farther than they were warranted even by the Levitical law; as they insisted that the tenth of the produce of all industry, merchandise, wages of labourers, and pay of soldiers, belonged to the clergy; nay, one of their canonists (Padre Paolo, *sopra benefici ecclesiastici*, edit. Colon. 1675, p. 132,) went so far as to affirm that they were entitled to the tithe of the profits made by courtezans, in the exercise of their profession. In those ages of ignorance and credulity, when fanati-

cism was mistaken for religion and superstition for piety, the people were both easily persuaded to believe that their calamities were owing to their deviation from the divine law, and terrified with the fear of future invasions, should they persevere in their iniquity. Thus the tythes, which they had never yet been able to collect, were granted without opposition to the clergy. So meritorious was this concession deemed by the English, that, trusting entirely to supernatural assistance, they neglected the ordinary means of safety, and agreed, even in that desperate extremity, that the revenues of the church should be exempted from all taxes, though imposed for national defence and security.

Ethelwolf dies two years after making this grant, and by his will shares England between his two eldest sons Ethelbald and Ethelbert, the west being assigned to the former, the east to the latter.

**ETHELBALD AND ETHELBERT, third and fourth  
Kings from the Heptarchy.**

*Ann. 857 to 865.*

Ethelbald, a profligate prince, creates great scandal, and gives offence to the people by marrying Judith, his mother-in-law. He is at last prevailed on to divorce her by the remonstrances of Swithin, bishop of Winchester. He dies in the third year of his accession to the throne. His brother Ethelbert, invested by his death with the whole government, behaves, during a reign of five years, in a manner more worthy of his birth and station. Nevertheless the kingdom continues to be infested by the Danes, who commit great outrages.

Ethelbert is succeeded by his brother Ethelred, a brave king, but whose valour was insufficient to repress the Danish incursions. His younger brother

Alfred seconded him in all his enterprises, and generously sacrificed to the public good all resentment he might retain on account of being excluded by Ethelfred from a large patrimony which had been left him by his father.

ETHERED, OR ETHELRED, fifth King from the Heptarchy.

*Ann. 866 to 871.*

The Danes effect a landing among the East Angles, who enter into a separate treaty with them, and furnish them with horses, which enables them to make an irruption by land into the kingdom of Northumberland, where they take the city of York, and defend it against Osbricht and Ælla, two Northumbrian princes, who perish in the assault. Thence they penetrate into Mercia, under the command of Hinguar and Hubba, take up their winter quarters at Nottingham, where they threaten the kingdom with a total subjection. The Mercians in this extremity apply to Ethered for succour. He marches with his brother Alfred, conducting a great army to Nottingham, and forces the enemy to retreat into Northumberland. They again enter East Anglia, and take prisoner Edmund, the governor of that country. They afterwards murder him in cool blood, and commit the most barbarous ravages on the people, giving the East Angles cause to regret the temporary relief they had obtained by assisting the common enemy.

The Danes take their next station at Reading, whence they infest the country with their excursions. The Mercians, desirous of shaking off their dependence on Ethered, refuse to join him with their forces. The king, attended by Alfred, attacks the enemy with the West Saxons alone, his heredi-

tary subjects, and after various successes, dies of a wound, leaving the inheritance of his cares and misfortunes, rather than of his grandeur, to his brother Alfred, who was now twenty-two years of age.

ALFRED, sixth King from the Heptarchy.

*Ann. 871 to 874.*

Alfred, deservedly called the Great, stands in the records of history as the most perfect model to all the best princes of future ages. He has been compared to Charlemagne, and there was indeed a great degree of similarity in the eminent virtues, talents, genius and character of these great monarchs. It must, however, be observed, that Charlemagne, who lived nearly a hundred years before Alfred, was the first to open the illustrious career which both these princes ran over with so much glory; therefore it is very probable that in many instances Alfred was guided in his decisions by what Charlemagne had done. It must be said also, in justice to Alfred, that Charlemagne, ascending a throne consolidated by the wisdom and victories of his father, against the Saxons, Slavonians, Bavarians, &c. &c. was invested with the most powerful means to make his authority obeyed at home and respected abroad, and never had any occasion to display those wonderful abilities which Alfred must have possessed to rescue alone, as he did, his crown and his country from the most desperate circumstances. Nothing, indeed, could be more deplorable than the state of the country when he came to the throne. The Danes had already subdued Northumberland and East Anglia, and penetrated into the very heart of Wessex. The Mercians had joined the enemy; the dependence upon the other provinces was very precarious, the land lay uncultivated through fear of continual incur-

sions, and all the churches and monasteries were destroyed.

Alfred had scarcely buried his brother when he was obliged to take the field against the Danes, who had seized Wilton. He marches against them with the few troops he can assemble on a sudden, gives them battle, gains at first an advantage, but the superiority of the enemy's numbers prevails, and recovers them the day. Their loss, however, was so considerable, that fearing Alfred would receive reinforcements, they stipulated for a safe retreat, and promised to depart the kingdom; but, careless of their engagements, they soon committed new depredations in the territories of the Mercians. Burrek, their king, and brother-in-law to Alfred, engaged them by presents of money to remove to Lincolnshire; but finding no object for their rapine in that country, which they had already reduced to ruin, they suddenly turned back upon Mercia, and desolated the country with fire and sword. Burrek, despairing of success against an enemy whom no force could resist and no treaties bind, fled to Rome, and took shelter in a cloister. He was the last who bore the title of King of Mercia.

The West Saxons were now the only remaining forces to protect England, and though supported by the energy and abilities of Alfred, they were unable to oppose those barbarians who from all quarters invaded them.

*Ann. 875 to 879.*

A new swarm of Danes comes over; part of them into Northumberland; the other take Wareham, in the county of Dorset, the very centre of Alfred's dominions. That prince so straitens them in these quarters that they come to a treaty with him, and stipulate to depart his country. Alfred, well ac-

quainted with their usual perfidy, obliges them to swear upon the holy relics to the observance of the treaty, in hopes that if they now violated their oath, such an impiety would draw down upon them the vengeance of heaven; but, little apprehensive of the danger, the Danes take the first opportunity to attack the English armies, put them to the rout, march westward, and take possession of Exeter. The king collects new forces, fights in one year eight battles, and reduces the enemy to the utmost extremity. They propose peace; he does not think proper to reject it, and stipulates that they will settle somewhere in England, and not permit any more of their countrymen to enter the kingdom. But while he was expecting the execution of this treaty, he heard that another strong body of Danes had landed, surprised Chippenham, then a considerable town, and were exercising their usual ravages. This last incident quite broke the spirit of the West Saxons, and reduced them to despair; they believed themselves abandoned by heaven to destruction. Some retired into Wales, or fled beyond sea; others submitted to the conqueror, and no one would hearken to the summons of the king, who exhorted them to make with him a last effort in defence of their king, their country, and their liberties. Alfred himself was obliged to give way to the wretched necessity of the times; accordingly, relinquishing the insignia of his dignity, and dismissing all his servants, he dressed himself in the habit of a peasant, and lived some time in the cottage of a neat-herd, who had been entrusted with the care of some of his cows. In this solitary retreat, which was in the county of Somerset, at the confluence of the rivers Parret and Thore, he supported his humble lot with the hopes of better fortune; and music, in which he was very proficient for the times, was his usual diversion. It is recorded by all the historians, that one day he-



ing commanded by the herdsman's wife, who did not know him, to take care of some cakes which were toasting, he happened to let them burn, for which she severely scolded him.

As soon as Alfred found that the search of the enemy was more remiss, he collected some of his retainers, and retired into a bog formed by the stagnating waters of the Thone and Parret, where he found two acres of firm ground. There he built a habitation with strong fortifications, where he was so secure that it was every way surrounded by forests and morasses, and the roads which led to it were unknown and inaccessible. This place he called Ethelingay, or the Isle of Nobles. It now bears the name of Athelney. Here he subsisted with his followers by plundering the straggling parties of the enemy. After having remained there a twelvemonth, he heard that Hubba, the chief of the Danish commanders, having ravaged the country of Wales, had found resistance on his return from the Castle of Kenwith, where the Earl of Devonshire had retired with a small body of chosen troops; and that this gallant knight, finding himself unable to sustain a siege, had, by one desperate effort, sallied out with his friends, and forced his way sword in hand through the besiegers, who were completely routed with great slaughter, and Hubba, their general, was slain.

This act of successful resistance revived the courage of the dispirited West Saxons; but before assembling them in arms, Alfred resolved to inspect himself the situation of the enemy, and to judge of the probability of success. For this purpose he entered their camp under the disguise of a harper, and passed unsuspected through every quarter. He so entertained them with his music and facetious humours, that he met with a welcome reception, and was introduced to the tent of Guthrum, their

prince, where he remained some days. He remarked the supine security of the Danes, their contempt of the English, their negligence in foraging and plundering, and their dissolute wasting of their ill-gotten booty. Having made these observations, he returned to his retreat, and secretly sent proper emissaries to the most considerable of his subjects, to summon them to a rendezvous at Brixton, on the borders of Selwood Forest, attended by their warlike followers. At the appointed day, all joyfully resorted to their prince. On his appearance they received him with shouts of applause, and could not satiate their eyes with the sight of this beloved monarch, whom they had long regarded as dead, and who now called them to liberty and to vengeance. He instantly conducted them to Eddington, where the Danes were encamped, and taking advantage of his previous knowledge of the place, he directed his attack against the most unguarded quarter of the enemy.

The Danes, surprised to behold an army of English whom they considered as totally subdued, and still more astonished to hear that Alfred was at their head, made but a faint resistance, notwithstanding the superiority of their number, and were soon put to flight with great slaughter. The remainder of the routed army fled with their prince to a fortified camp, where they were besieged by Alfred, and compelled, in less than a fortnight, to surrender at discretion. He gave them their lives, and, by his permission, those who did not choose to embrace Christianity, and settle in those parts of England he assigned to them, embarked for Flanders, under the command of Hastings, one of their generals. Guthrum, their prince, became a convert, with thirty of his nobles. The king himself answered for him at the font, and receiving him as his adopted son, gave him the name of Athelstan.

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A part of the Danes who had followed Hastings returned contrary to the treaty, and landing on the coast of Kent, advanced towards Rochester; but they soon fell back on hearing that Alfred was upon his march to attack them. To prevent such incursions for the future, he equipped a strong fleet, with which he destroyed sixteen of their vessels in the port of Harwich. There remained only the port of London open to the invaders, and as that city was weakly garrisoned, he soon reduced it to capitulation. Having augmented its fortifications, and embellished it with a number of new edifices, he delivered it in charge to his son-in-law Ethelred, and thus secured the whole country from foreign danger. The consequence of those wise and vigorous measures for the defence of the country was, that for some years Alfred was not disturbed by any irruption worthy notice. He employed this interval of tranquillity in restoring order to the state, in establishing civil and military institutions, in composing the minds of men to industry and justice, and in providing against the return of the late calamities.

*Ann. 880 to 890.*

Alfred establishes a regular militia all over England, and a considerable naval force. He increases the shipping of his kingdom both in number and strength, and distributes his armed vessels in proper stations around the island. These measures enable him to repel vigorously three new irruptions attempted again by the Danes, the most formidable of which was headed by the Danish chieftain Hastings, who appeared on the coast of Kent with a fleet of 330 sail; and, after many repulses, was obliged to put again to sea. Those who made their escape, and their countrymen in Northumberland

and East-Anglia, who had resumed their inveterate depredations, pursued by the indefatigable vigilance of Alfred, were finally destroyed. Tranquillity being thus restored, he found that the only way to make it permanent was to establish a strict, active, and regular police all over the kingdom; accordingly he revived its ancient division into counties, these counties into hundreds, and the hundreds into tithings. Every householder was answerable for the behaviour of his family, slaves, and even his guests if they resided above three days in his house. Ten neighbouring householders were formed into one corporation, which under the name of a tithing, decennary, or fribourg, were answerable for each other's conduct, and over whom one person, called a tithingman, headbourg, or borsholder, was appointed to preside. Every man was punished as an outlaw who did not register himself in some tithing; and no man could change his habitation without a certificate from the borsholder of the tithing to which he formerly belonged.

When any person was accused of a crime, his borsholder was summoned to answer for him; if he refused, the criminal was detained in prison till his trial. If he fled, either before or after finding sureties, the borsholder and decennary were exposed to the penalties of law, unless they could produce him in thirty-one days. If they could not, the borsholder, with two other members of the decennary, were obliged to appear, with three chief members of the three neighbouring decennaries, to swear that the criminal's decennary was free from all privacy both of the crime committed and the escape of the criminal. If the borsholder could not find such a number to answer for his innocence, the decennary was compelled by fine to make satisfaction to the king, according to the degree of the offence.

These rigours were tempered by other insti-

tions favourable to the freedom of the citizens. The borsholder summoned his whole decennary to assist him in deciding all lesser differences of this small community. In affairs of greater moment, in appeals from the decennary, or in controversies between members of different decennaries, the cause was brought before the hundred, which consisted of ten decennaries, or a hundred families of freemen, which were regularly assembled once in four weeks for the deciding of causes in a form which deserves to be noted, not as being the origin of juries, which has been erroneously ascribed to Alfred, but at least an important improvement of that precious institution. Twelve freeholders were chosen, who having sworn, together with the hundreder or presiding magistrate of that division, to administer impartial justice, proceeded to the examination of that cause which was submitted to their decision. Besides these monthly meetings of the hundred, there was an annual meeting appointed for a more general inspection of the police of the district, the inquiry into crimes, the correction of abuses in magistrates, and the obliging of every person to sue the decennary in which he was registered.

The next superior court to that of the hundred was the county court, which met twice a year, after Michaelmas and Easter, and consisted of the freeholders of the county, who possessed an equal vote in the decision of causes. The bishop presided in this court, together with the alderman.

There lay an appeal in default of justice from all these courts to the king himself in council; and as the people, sensible of the equity and great talents of Alfred, placed their chief confidence in him, he was soon overwhelmed with appeals from all parts of England.

The better to guide the magistrates in the administration of justice, he framed a code of laws,

which, though now lost, served long as the basis of English jurisprudence, and is generally deemed the origin of what has been since denominated the common law.

The general police was so exact, that Alfred, it is said, hung up, by way of bravado, golden bracelets near the highways, and no man dared to touch them. Yet amidst these rigours, which could only be felt and complained of by bad and dangerous men, this great prince never deviated from the most sacred regard to the liberty of his people; and it is a memorable sentiment preserved in his will, that *it is just the English should for ever remain as free as their own thoughts.*

The care of Alfred for the encouragement of learning did not a little contribute to improve the morals and restrain the barbarous habits of the people. When he came to the throne, he found the English sunk into the grossest ignorance and barbarism, proceeding from the continued disorders in the government, and from the ravages of the Danes, who had laid in ashes all the schools and seminaries of learning. To remedy this evil, he invited over the most celebrated scholars from all parts of Europe. He established schools every where; he founded, or at least re-established, the university of Oxford, and endowed it with many privileges, revenues, and immunities. But his most effectual means for the encouragement of learning was the example of the constant assiduity with which he employed himself in the pursuit of knowledge. During a life of no extraordinary length, this truly incomparable hero, who fought fifty-six battles in person, was enabled, by a regular distribution of his time, to acquire more knowledge, and even to compose more books than most studious men blest with the greatest leisure. Many of his works remain to this day. Sensible that his illiterate subjects were not very sus-

ceptible of speculative instruction, he endeavoured to convey his morality by parables, apologues, and apophthems couched in poetry, as he was acknowledged the best Saxon poet of the age; he translated Orosius' and Bede's Histories, and the elegant Fables of Æsop from the Greek. Nor did he ever neglect the vulgar and mechanical arts, which have a more sensible, though not a closer, connexion with the interests of society. Before his time, the generality of the people built their houses chiefly of wood; he raised his palaces of brick; and the nobility by degrees began to imitate his example. He invited industrious foreigners from all quarters to re-people his country; he introduced and encouraged manufactures of all kinds, and no inventor or improver of any ingenious art did he suffer to go unrewarded. He prompted men of activity to betake themselves to navigation, and to push commerce in the remotest countries.

It was after a glorious reign of twenty-nine years that Alfred the Great, one of the wisest and best of the princes that had ever adorned the annals of any nation, died, at the age of sixty-one years, in the full enjoyment of his faculties. He had, by his wife Ethelswitha, the daughter of a Mercian Earl, three sons and three daughters. His eldest son, Edmund, died without issue during his father's life. His third son, Ethelward, inherited his father's passion for learning, and lived a private life. The second, Edward, succeeded to his throne, and passes by the appellation of Edward the Elder, being the first English king of that name.

**EDWARD THE ELDER, seventh King from the Heptarchy.***Ann. 901 to 925.*

During the reign of this prince there were but few intervals free from the attempts and insurrections of the Northumbrian rebels. Many were the battles he fought and the victories he won. The first was against Ethelwald, his cousin-german, who disputed his right to the throne, and was supported by the Northumbrians. He built several castles, and fortified different cities, subdued the East-Angles, and acquired dominion over the Northumbrians themselves. He founded, in 915, the university of Cambridge. In the twenty-fourth year of his reign, when he had reduced the whole kingdom to his obedience, he was prevented by death from executing the plans he had formed to promote the happiness of his people. The throne devolved to Athelstan, his natural son, who being of an age and capacity fitted for government, was preferred to Edward's younger children, who, though legitimate, were of too tender years to be entrusted with the sovereign power in such critical circumstances. Besides, the stain in Athelstan's birth was not, in those times, deemed so considerable as to exclude him from the throne.

**ATHELSTAN, eighth King from the Heptarchy.***Ann. 925 to 941.*

Alfred, a nobieman of great power, enters into a conspiracy against Athelstan, in favour of the legitimate sons of the deceased king. On his being arrested he denies the charge, and offers to clear himself of it by oath before the pope. The proposal is



accepted, he is conducted to Rome, and it is asserted that he had no sooner pronounced the fatal word than he fell into convulsions, of which he expired three days after.

Athelstan marches into Northumberland, and finding that the inhabitants still bear with impatience the English yoke, he tries to reconcile them to it by conferring the government of that province, with the title of King, on Sithric, a Danish nobleman; and to attach him to his interests, he gives him his sister Editha in marriage. Sithric dies twelve months after. Anlaf and Godfrid, his two sons by a former marriage, assume the sovereignty, without waiting for Athelstan's order or consent. They are soon expelled by the power of the king. The former takes shelter in Ireland, and the latter in Scotland, where Constantine, the king of that country, takes him under his protection. Athelstan, resenting such behaviour, enters Scotland with an army, and reduces the Scots to such distress that their king is obliged, to preserve his crown, to make all the submissions required by Athelstan.

Godfrid being dead, Constantine enters into a confederacy with his brother Anlaf, who had collected a great body of Danish pirates, with some Welsh princes. This coalition makes an irruption with a great army into England. Athelstan collecting his forces, meets the enemy near Brunsbury, in Northumberland, and defeats them in a general engagement. This victory was chiefly ascribed to the valour of the chancellor Turketul, for in those turbulent times no one was so much occupied in civil employments as wholly to lay aside the military character. After this success, Athelstan enjoyed an undisturbed reign, and is considered as one of the ablest and the most active of the Saxon princes. He re-established, for the advantage of commerce, a remarkable ancient law, the purport of which was,

that a merchant who had made three long sea voyages should be admitted to the rank of a thane, or nobleman. He died at Gloucester, in the year 941, after a reign of sixteen years, and was succeeded by his brother Edmund.

**EDMUND, ninth King from the Heptarchy.**

*Ann. 941 to 946.*

Edmund on his accession met with disturbances from the restless Northumbrians, but his activity soon defeated their attempts. This prince considering that pecuniary mulcts were too gentle and inadequate means of punishing and preventing crimes which were committed in general by men who had nothing to lose, enacted, by a law, that in the gangs of robbers, when taken, the oldest should be condemned to the gallows, and the others to banishment. On a certain day, as he was solemnizing a festival in Gloucestershire, he remarked that Leolf, a notorious robber whom he had sentenced to banishment, had dared to enter the hall where he was dining, and sit at table with his attendants. Enraged at this insolence, he ordered him to leave the room. On his refusing to obey, Edmund, naturally choleric, leaped on him himself and seized him by the hair, when the ruffian drew his dagger and stabbed the king, who immediately expired. This event happened in the year 946, the sixth of Edmund's reign. He left male issue, but so young that they were incapable of governing the kingdom. His brother Edred was called to the throne.

**EDRED, tenth King from the Heptarchy.**

*Ann. 946 to 955.*

**Edred, like his predecessor, had to quell the in-**

surrections of the Northumbrians, and was at last obliged to place garrisons in their most considerable towns, and to appoint an English governor over them who might watch all their motions, and suppress any insurrection on its first appearance. He also obliged Malcolm, king of Scotland, to renew his homage for the lands he held in England.

About that time, the Monks, taking advantage of the superstitious character of Edred, began to assume the direction in civil affairs. Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, gained such an ascendancy over the king's mind, that he made him not only the director of his conscience, but his counsellor in the most momentous affairs of government, and placed him at the head of the treasury. Thus possessed both of power at court and of credit with the populace by his reputation of sanctity, he was enabled to attempt with success the most important enterprises, when his boundless ambition was checked in the midst of his career by the death of the king, who died of a quinsy in the tenth year of his reign. His sons being yet unfit to govern, Edwy, his nephew, ascended the throne.

**EDWY, eleventh King from the Heptarchy,**

*Ann. 955 to 957.*

Edwy, at the time of his accession, was not above sixteen or seventeen years of age; he was of a most engaging figure, and endowed with the most promising virtues. He would have been the favourite of his people, had he not been, at the beginning of his reign, unhappily involved in a quarrel with the monks, whose rancour neither his accomplishments nor his virtues could mitigate.

There was a beautiful princess of the royal blood called Elgiva, who had made such an impression on

the tender heart of Edwy, that, contrary to the advice of his greatest counsellors and the remonstrances of the more dignified ecclesiastics, he had ventured to marry her, though she was within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the canon law. On the day of his coronation, while his nobility assembled in the hall were indulging themselves in the noisy pleasures of wine and festivity, Edwy retired to the queen's apartment, where, in company with her mother, he enjoyed the more pleasing satisfaction of her conversation. Dunstan conjectured the motives of the king's absence, and carrying along with him Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, over whom he had an absolute ascendancy, he burst into the apartment, grossly upbraided Edwy with his lasciviousness, bestowed probably on the queen the most opprobrious epithets, and tearing him from her arms, pushed him back into the banquet of his nobles. To punish this public insult, the offended prince ordered Dunstan to account for the money with which he had been entrusted during the last reign. On his refusing to give any account of it, pretending that it had been expended by the late king's orders, Edwy accused him of malversation, and banished him the kingdom. His exile only served to increase the reputation of his sanctity among the people; and the archbishop Odo was so far transported with rage that he pronounced a divorce between Edwy and Elgiva. The unfortunate prince finding it in vain to resist the indignation of the church, consented to his divorce. Accordingly Odo sent into the palace a party of soldiers who seized the queen, and by his orders branded her on the face with a hot iron. They afterwards carried her by force into Ireland, and commanded her to remain there in perpetual exile. That amiable princess being cured of her wounds, and having even obliterated the scars with which Odo had hoped to

deface her beauty, returned into England, and was flying to the arms of the king, when she fell into the hands of a party which the archbishop, informed by his spies of her escape, had sent to intercept her. Nothing but her death could satisfy the archbishop, and the most cruel punishment was scarcely requisite to satiate his vengeance. Elgiva was barbarously hamstrung, and expired a few days after in the most acute torments.

In the mean time a revolt against Edwy became almost general. The rebels placed at their head Edgar, the younger brother of Edwy, a boy of thirteen years of age, and soon put him in possession of all the northern parts of the kingdom. Dunstan returned into England, and took upon him the government of Edgar and his party. Edwy was excommunicated, and obliged to consent to a partition of the kingdom; but his death, which happened soon after, put Edgar in possession of the whole.

EDGAR, twelfth King from the Heptarchy.

*Ann. 958 to 974.*

Edgar, placed on the throne by the influence of the monks, and guided by their counsels in all his transactions, is represented by them as the greatest king that ever ascended the throne. Few English monarchs indeed have reigned with more fortune or more splendour. All domestic insurrections were quieted, all foreign invasions repressed, and his power was so much superior to that of his predecessors, that residing once at Chester, and having purposed to go by water to the abbey of St. John the Baptist, he obliged eight of his tributary princes to row him in a barge upon the Dee. This extraordinary show of power, as childish as insolent, may

be accounted for by the age of Edgar, who was then no more than fourteen or fifteen years old. In the mean time, on considering his youth, and the great capacity and energy of Dunstan, entrusted with the whole management of the state, it naturally occurs that the principal measures tending to improve the government and to increase the power of the crown, must be rather ascribed to the abilities of the minister than to those of his royal pupil. The monks, whom he promoted, are loud in his praise; but how can we rely on the panegyrics in which they transmit him to posterity, not only as a consummate statesman and an active prince, but as a man of virtue and a great saint, when it is proved, by authentic records, that almost the whole of his life was disgraced by a series of the most libidinous and criminal excesses?

He first broke into a convent, carried off Editha, a nun, by force, and committed violence on her person. For this act of sacrilege he was reprimanded by Dunstan; and that he might reconcile himself to the church, he was obliged, not to separate from his mistress, but to abstain from wearing his crown for seven years! His connection with another of his mistresses, since called *Elfreda the Fair*, was formed by an accident worth noticing. Edgar, passing one day by Andover, lodged in the house of a nobleman whose daughter being endowed with great beauty and graces, inspired him at first sight with so violent a passion that he declared it immediately to her mother, and desired that the young lady might be allowed to pass that very night with him. The mother, who was a woman of virtue, and well acquainted with the impetuosity of the king's temper, thought it would be easier and safer to deceive than refuse him. She accordingly feigned submission to his will, but secretly ordered a waiting maid of an agreeable figure to steal into the king's bed after all

the company should be retired to rest. In the morning, when the king perceived the deceit, instead of being displeased at it, he transferred his love to Elfreda, who became his favourite mistress, and continued so till his marriage with Elfrida. The circumstances of his marriage with this lady were more singular and more criminal.

Elfrida, a daughter and heiress of Olgar, earl of Devonshire, had so much filled all England with the reputation of her beauty, that Edgar resolved to marry her if her charms really answered to their fame. He communicated his intention to earl Athelwold, his favourite, and ordered him to pay a visit on some pretence to the parents of Elfrida, and bring him a certain account of her beauty. Athelwold had no sooner cast his eyes upon her than he fell desperately in love, forgot his master's intentions, and demanded for himself the beautiful Elfrida in marriage. Her parents gave their consent, and the nuptials were performed in private. Upon his return to court, Athelwold assured the king that the riches and high quality of Elfrida had been the only ground of the admiration paid to her pretended charms, which would have been overlooked in a woman of inferior station. The king was satisfied, and no longer thought of her. Athelwold, triumphant in his address, took an opportunity after some time of turning the conversation on Elfrida, representing that her fortune would be an immense acquisition to him. He therefore entreated permission to pay his addresses to her. A request so seemingly reasonable was readily complied with; Athelwold returned to his wife, and their nuptials were solemnized in public. His greatest care was employed in keeping her from court, but his enemies soon informed the king of the whole transaction. Edgar dissembling his resentment, took occasion to visit with Athelwold that part of the coun-

try where Elfrida was detained. Upon coming near the lady's habitation, he told his favourite that he intended to pay him a visit in his castle and be introduced to his wife. Athelwold did all in his power, but in vain, to dissuade Edgar; all he could obtain was permission to go before him, on pretence to prepare every thing for his reception. On his arrival he fell at his wife's knees, confessing what he had done to be possessed of her charms, and begged her, if she had any regard either for her own honour or his life, to conceal as much as possible her beauty from the king. Elfrida promised compliance; but, prompted either by vanity or revenge, adorned her person with the most exquisite art. The king no sooner saw her than he felt his bosom inflamed with the most ardent love, and resolved to obtain her. Nevertheless he dissembled his passion, and took leave with a seeming indifference; but Athelwold was sent some time after into Northumberland, upon pretence of urgent affairs, and was found murdered in a wood by the way. Many historians say that he was stabbed by the king's own hand. Be that as it may, Elfrida was soon after invited to court, and publicly espoused by the king.

Such were the enormities committed by that prince, so highly extolled for his pretended virtues, and so little censured for his too real vices.

A remarkable incident of his reign was the extirpation of wolves from England. Edgar took great pains in hunting and pursuing those ravenous animals; and when he found that all that escaped him had taken shelter in the mountains and forests of Wales, he changed the tribute of money, imposed on the Welsh princes by Athelstan, his predecessor, into an annual tribute of three hundred heads of wolves, which produced such diligence in hunting them, that the animal has no more been seen in this island.



A good name was never more necessary than in this period, as without that no man could be admitted a member of any tithing or decennary, but was reputed a vagabond. This accounts for the severity of the laws then enacted against calumny. It was decreed by one of Edgar, that a person convicted of gross and dangerous defamation, should have his tongue cut out, unless he redeemed it by paying the full price of his life; and this law was confirmed by Canute the Great.

Edgar died after a reign of nearly seventeen years, and in the thirty-third of his age. He was succeeded by Edward, whom he had by his first marriage with the daughter of earl Ordoner.

**EDWARD THE MARTYR**, thirteenth King from the Heptarchy.

*Ann. 975 to 978.*

Edward, raised to the throne by the credit of Dunstan and the protection of the monks, at the age of thirteen years, like his father, lived only four years after his accession, and his tragical death was the most memorable event of his reign. This young prince, endowed with the most amiable candour, had always shown great marks of regard for his stepmother Elfrida, and even expressed, on all occasions, the most tender affection for his brother Ethelred, though she had opposed his succession, and even raised a party in favour of that same Ethelred, her own son. One day when Edward was hunting in Dorsetshire, he was led by the chace near Corfe Castle, where Elfrida resided, and took an opportunity of paying her a visit unattended by any of his retinue. After the visit, as he mounted his horse he desired some liquor to be brought him. While he was holding the cup to his head, a servant

of Elfrida gave him a stab behind. The prince finding himself wounded, put spurs to his horse; but becoming faint by loss of blood, his foot stuck in the stirrup when he fell from the saddle, and he was dragged along by his unruly horse till he expired. Being tracked along by the blood, his body was found, and he was privately interred at Wareham by his servant. Thence the appellation of martyr was given him by the people, though his murder had no connection with any religious principle or opinion. He was succeeded by his brother Ethelred.

**ETHELRED**, fourteenth King from the Heptarchy.

*Ann. 978 to 1000.*

The Danes, partly from the establishments which the death of Charlemagnè and the weakness of his successors had enabled that piratical nation to obtain in the north of France, partly from the vigour and warlike spirit which Alfred the Great had revived in England, had ceased to disturb that country by their irruptions. But being informed of the change produced by the dissensions, follies, and vices which had marked the reigns of the last English kings, and that the people, taught by their monks to rely entirely on præternatural assistance, were become incapable of defending themselves; these old and terrible enemies considered the weakness and inexperience of Ethelred as the most favourable opportunity for renewing their depredations. They landed accordingly, at different times, on several parts of the coast, met every where but a feeble resistance, and were bribed to depart the kingdom on receiving ten thousand pounds.

The invaders being thus acquainted with the defenceless condition of England, made a powerful descent under the command of Swein, king of Den-

mark, and Olave, king of Norway, and spread their destructive ravages on all sides. The English opposed them with a formidable army, but were repulsed with great slaughter. Ethelred, to whom historians give the epithet of *the unready*, instead of rousing his people to defend with courage their honour and their property, resolved again to buy off the invasion with a sum of sixteen thousand pounds. Swein and Olave agreed to the terms. Olave returned to Norway. But a short time after this shameful composition, the Danes appeared again upon the English shore, and asked an additional subsidy of twenty-five thousand pounds, to which the English had the meanness and imprudence to submit.

The receiving of this sum was not the only motive of the Danes to depart a kingdom so incapable of resisting their efforts. They were invited over by their countrymen in Normandy, who, at this very time, were hard pressed by the armies of Robert, king of France, and who found it difficult to defend the settlement, which, with so much advantage to themselves and so much glory to their nation, they had made in that country in 912, under the reign of the French king Charles le Simple.

*Ann. 1001 to 1002.*

Ethelred, who was now a widower, observing the close connection thus maintained among all the Danes, however divided in government or situation, considered an alliance with that formidable people as the surest means to restore tranquillity in his kingdom. He accordingly made his addresses to Emma, sister to Richard, second duke of Normandy, and he soon succeeded in his negotiation. The princess came over this year to England, and was married to Ethelred. It remained to provide against

the treachery of those numerous Danish families who had been permitted by Alfred the Great to settle in Northumberland and East Anglia, and who, upon every threatened invasion, were always ready to join their countrymen against those among whom they were allowed to reside. Ethelred, from a policy incident to weak princes, adopted the resolution of putting them to the sword throughout all his dominions. This plot was carried on with such secrecy, that it was executed every where on the same day (Nov. 13, 1002). Even Gunilda, sister of the king of Denmark, who had married Earl Paling, and had embraced Christianity, was seized, and condemned to death by Ethelred, after seeing her husband and children butchered before her face.

*Ann. 1003 to 1016.*

Swein being informed of this massacre, appears off the western coasts, meditating slaughter and furious with revenge. The English vainly attempt to collect their dispirited troops; cowardice and treachery dissipate them. A dreadful famine, partly from bad seasons, and partly from the decay of agriculture, increases their miseries, the particulars of which would be too tedious to relate. Indeed they would offer nothing but repeated accounts of the sacking and burning of towns, of the devastation of the open country, of the appearance of the enemy in every quarter of the kingdom, of their diligence in discovering every corner which had not been ransacked by their former violence.

The English, overwhelmed with such calamities, submit to purchase again a precarious peace in the year 1007, by the payment of thirty thousand pounds, which was levied by way of tax, called *danegelt*, and was the first land tax in England. Ethelred, intending to employ this interval in mak-

ing preparations against the return of the enemy, assembles a navy, consisting nearly of eight hundred vessels, but all hopes of success are disappointed by the factions, animosities, and dissensions of the nobility, while that formidable armament was considered by the Danes as a sufficient motive for a new irruption. The English saw no other expedient against it than that of buying a new peace, for which they paid forty-eight thousand pounds; but to no purpose, as the Danes, disregarding all engagements, continued their devastations, levied a new contribution of eight thousand pounds upon the county of Kent alone, and murdered the archbishop of Canterbury, who had refused to countenance this exaction. The English nobility found no other resource than that of submitting every where to the Danish monarch, and accordingly swore allegiance to him, and gave him hostages for their fidelity. Ethelred, equally afraid, fled into Normandy, where he had already sent the queen and her two sons, Alfred and Edward, in the year 1013. Richard received them with a generosity that does honour to his memory.

Swein died about six weeks after; and Ethelred seized with eagerness so favourable an opportunity of reascending his throne; but his misconduct, indolence, credulity, and cowardice obstructed all success. At length, after having seen the greatest part of his kingdom invaded, after refusing to head his troops against the enemy, he retired to London, where he died after an inglorious reign of thirty-five years. Edmund, the eldest of his sons succeeded to his throne and to his misfortunes.

During that reign, and in the year 987, the Carolingian dynasty, weakened and degraded by the imbecility of its last princes, lost the crown of France, which was assumed by Hugh Capet, the chief of the third dynasty.

**EDMOND IRONSIDE**, fifteenth King from the Heptarchy.

*Ann.* 1016.

Edmond received the surname of Ironside from his hardy opposition to the enemy. But he had to contend with one of the most vigilant and powerful monarchs in Europe, as Canute, afterwards surnamed the Great, succeeded Swein as king of Denmark, and also as general of the Danish force in England. In the first battle Edmond obtained some indecisive advantages; in the second, the Danes were victorious; the indefatigable Edmond, however, had still resources: assembling a new army at Gloucester, he was again in a condition to dispute the field, when the Danish and English nobility, equally harassed with those convulsions, obliged their kings to divide the kingdom between them. By the treaty agreed on at Gloucester, Canute reserved to himself the northern division, consisting of Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumberland; the southern parts were left to Edmond; but this prince being murdered about a month after the treaty by his two chamberlains, at Oxford, Canute was left in peaceable possession of the whole kingdom.

**CANUTE**, sixteenth King from the Heptarchy.

*Ann.* 1017 to 1035.

Before seizing the southern provinces, which by the death of Edmond naturally devolved to his sons, Canute, anxious to cover his usurpation under plausible pretences, summoned a general assembly of the states of the kingdom, to decide whether in the

treaty of Gloucester it had or had not been agreed to name Canute, in case of Edmond's death, successor to his dominions. Some suborned nobles deposed for the affirmative, and that evidence determined the states immediately to put the Danish monarch in possession of the government. He was obliged at first to make some mortifying concessions, and to buy the affections of the nobles by gratifying their avarice. He created Turkill earl or duke of East Anglia (for these titles were then nearly of the same import), and entrusted some others with several governments. But as his power grew stronger he resumed those grants, banished the kingdom the nobles who had received them, and put many others to death, sensible that those who had betrayed their legitimate sovereign would never be true to him.

The removal into Hungary of the two eldest sons of Edmond was, next to their death, considered by Canute as the greatest security to his government; he had no farther anxiety except with regard to their young brothers Alfred and Edward, who were protected and supported by their uncle, Richard duke of Normandy. Canute, conscious of the dangers he had to apprehend from such an enemy, tried to acquire his friendship by paying his addresses to the duke's sister, queen Emma, the widow of Ethelred, promising that he would leave the crown of England to the children whom he should have by that marriage. Richard complied with his demand, and sent over Emma to England, where she was soon after married to Canute.

Canute having thus settled his power in England, went to Denmark, at that time attacked by the king of Sweden. In this expedition Godwin, an English earl, who was particularly distinguished for his valour and his important services, laid a foundation for the immense power he acquired during the succeeding reigns.

In a second voyage to Denmark in 1028, Canute attacked Norway, and expelling Olaus the reigning king, annexed it to his empire.

In the latter part of his life Canute built churches, endowed monasteries, enriched the ecclesiastics, and bestowed revenues for the support of charities at Assington and other places, where he appointed prayers to be said for the souls of those who had there fallen in battle against him. He even undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, where he resided a considerable time. Besides obtaining from the Pope some privileges for the English school erected there, he engaged all the princes through whose dominions he was obliged to pass, to desist from those heavy impositions and tolls which they were accustomed to exact from the English pilgrims. By a law enacted under this reign, an adulteress besides being declared infamous for life and forfeiting all her goods, was condemned to have her nose and lips cut off, that she might no longer be an object of criminal desires.

The only memorable action which Canute performed after his return from Rome, was an expedition against Malcolm, king of Scotland, who refused to acknowledge himself a vassal for Cumberland to the crown of England. Upon Canute's appearing on the frontiers with a formidable army in 1031, Malcolm agreed that his grand son and heir, Duncan, whom he put in possession of Cumberland, should make the submission required, and that the heirs of Scotland should always acknowledge themselves vassals to England for that province.

Four years after this expedition, Canute died at Shaftsbury, leaving three sons, Swein, Harold, and Hardicanute, whom Emma had borne him. Swein was crowned king of Norway, Hardicanute succeeded his father in Denmark, and Harold in England.



**HAROLD HAREFOOT**, seventeenth King from the Heptarchy.*Ann. 1035 to 1039.*

Though Canute in his treaty with the late duke of Normandy, Richard II. had stipulated, that his children by Emma should succeed to the throne of England, he thought it dangerous to leave a newly conquered kingdom in the hands of so young a prince as Hardicanute. However, Harold met with no small opposition from him. Affairs were likely to terminate in a civil war; when, by the interposition of the nobility of both parties, it was agreed, that Harold should enjoy, together with London, all the provinces north of the Thames, while the possession of the south should remain to Hardicanute. Meanwhile, Robert duke of Normandy, died in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and being succeeded by a son, yet a minor, the two English princes Alfred and Edward, finding no longer any protection in that court, gladly embraced the opportunity of paying a visit, with a numerous retinue, to their mother Emma. As soon as Harold was acquainted with it, he, in concert with earl Godwin, whose daughter he had promised to marry, laid a plan for the destruction of the English princes. Alfred was accordingly invited to London by Harold, with many professions of friendship, but when he had reached Guildford, about six hundred of his train were murdered by the vassals of Godwin; he himself was taken prisoner, his eyes were put out, and he was conducted to the monastery of Ely, where he died soon after. Edward and Emma, apprised of the fate which awaited them, fled, the former into Normandy, the latter into Flanders; and Harold, without resistance, took

possession of the whole kingdom. Such is the only memorable action performed during a reign of four years, by Harold Harefoot ; a surname which was given him from his agility in running and walking. He died on the 14th of April, 1039, very little regretted by his subjects, and left the succession open to his brother Hardicanute.

HARDICANUTE, eighteenth King from the Heptarchy.

*Ann. 1039 to 1041.*

Hardicanute, or Canute the Hardy, that is, the robust, was preparing to make a descent in England, when intelligence of his brother's death induced him to sail immediately to London, where he was received in triumph, and acknowledged king without opposition. The first act of his government afforded his subjects a specimen of his bad disposition. He was so enraged at Harold for having deprived him of his share of the kingdom, and for the cruel treatment of his brother Alfred, that in an impotent desire of revenge against the dead, he ordered his corpse to be dug up, beheaded, and thrown into the Thames. When it was found some time after by a fisherman, and buried, he ordered it to be again dug up and thrown into the Thames. In these acts of ferocious brutality he was assisted by that same Godwin, who, during the former reign, had been the vile instrument of treachery and murder. But prince Edward being invited over by the king, he, immediately on his appearance, preferred an accusation against Godwin for the murder of Alfred, and demanded justice for that crime. Godwin found means to evade the danger by appealing to the king's avarice. He presented him with a magnificent galley, curiously carved and

gilded, rowed by four-score men, who wore each of them a gold bracelet on his arm, weighing sixteen ounces. The king, softened by this present, permitted him to purge himself by oath, and Godwin readily swore that he had no hand in the death of Alfred.

Though Hardicanute had been called over by the vows of the English, he soon lost their affections by his misconduct ; but nothing appeared more grievous to them than his renewing the imposition of danegelt, which was levied with the most violent severity.

This tyrannical government was of short duration. Hardicanute died two years after his accession, in consequence of excess at the marriage of a Danish lord. His usual habits of intemperance were so well known, that his sudden death gave as little surprise as it did sorrow to his subjects ; his death became an object of derision for them, its anniversary being distinguished by the name of hock holiday.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, nineteenth King  
from the Heptarchy.

*Ann.* 1041, to 1066.

Swein, king of Norway, and the eldest son of Canute, was the only remaining prince of the Danish line, and therefore the only one entitled to succeed his brother Hardicanute, who had left no issue ; but at that time, Swein was engaged in wars in Norway. Edwin and Edward, the two sons of Edmund Ironside, the eldest son of Ethelred, and therefore the true heirs of the Saxon family, were both in Hungary. Prince Edward, the youngest son of Ethelred, and Emma, of Normandy, his second wife, were fortunately at court on the death

of Hardicanute, and the absence of the other princes was a sufficient reason for their exclusion in a country so little accustomed to observe a regular order in the succession to the throne. Nevertheless, this concurrence of circumstances in favour of Edward might have failed of its effect, had his accession been opposed by Godwin, whose power, alliances, riches, and abilities, gave him a great influence. On the other hand, there existed a declared animosity between Edward and Godwin, on account of Alfred's murder. But their common friends insisting on the urgent necessity of laying aside all rancour, Edward, as a pledge of his sincere reconciliation, consented to marry Editha, the daughter of Godwin, who prepared accordingly every measure to secure the succession to Edward, and summoned immediately a general council at Gillingham, where that prince was crowned king with every demonstration of duty and affection.

The English finding the line of their ancient monarchs restored, set no bounds to their joy, and the warmth of it was attended with some violence against the Danes; but the king, by the mildness of his character, soon reconciled the latter to his administration, and the distinction between the two nations gradually disappeared. He soon after resumed all grants that had been made by his predecessors, and which had so much impoverished the crown, that this act of severity was become absolutely necessary. At the same time, his mother Emma, who was ever intriguing against him, was, by his orders, confined for life in a monastery at Winchester.

Edward having been educated in Normandy, had contracted many intimacies with the natives of that country, and had imbibed an affection for their manners. The court of England was soon filled with Normans; the courtiers affected to imitate

their dress and entertainments. The study of the French tongue became general in the kingdom, and even the lawyers employed that foreign language in their deeds and papers.

As the Normans possessed Edward's confidence, they had secretly, a great influence on public affairs. This naturally excited a jealousy of the English, and above all, of earl Godwin, who often forgot in his complaints the respect due to his prince; and by his insolent behaviour, rekindled Edward's rancour for his more ancient injuries. The king, in pursuance of his engagements, had, indeed, married Editha, the daughter of Godwin; but his hatred of the father was transferred to that princess. It is even pretended, that during the whole course of her life he abstained from all commerce of love with her, and his conduct in this particular, highly commended by the Monkish historians, greatly contributed to his acquiring the name of Saint and Confessor.

The most popular pretence on which Godwin could ground his disaffection to the king and his administration, was the influence of the Normans in the government; and it was not long before this animosity broke into action. Eustace, count of Boulogne, having paid a visit to the king, whose sister he had married, passed by Dover, in his return. The servant sent before him to bespeak lodgings in that city, quarrelled with the townsmen, and was killed. The count and his attendants attempting to take revenge, he lost about twenty of his men, and was obliged to save his life by flight from the fury of the populace. He hurried immediately to court, and complained of the insult. The king, highly exasperated at it, ordered Godwin, in whose government Dover lay, to repair immediately to the place, and to punish the inhabitants for the crime. Godwin refused obedience,

and endeavoured to throw all the blame of the riot on the count of Boulogne and his retinue. Edward, offended in so sensible a point, threatened Godwin, if he persisted in his disobedience, to make him feel the utmost effects of his resentment. Godwin, expecting that his countrymen would support him in this cause, prepared for his defence, or rather for an attack upon Edward. Accordingly, under a pretence of repressing some disorders on the Welch frontiers, he secretly assembled a great army, and attempted to surprise the king, who continued without the smallest suspicion at Gloucester. But as soon as he was informed of Godwin's treachery, he privately summoned all the assistance he could, and Godwin finding himself unable to oppose his superior force, or to keep his own army together, disbanded them, and took shelter with Baldwin, earl of Flanders. His numerous estates, together with those of his sons, were confiscated, and the greatness of the family seemed, for a time, to be totally overthrown.

But Godwin, assisted with a fleet by Baldwin, in the year 1052, landed on the Isle of Wight, where he was joined by his son Harold, with a squadron he had collected in Ireland: and being reinforced by great numbers of his former followers, he sailed up the Thames, and appearing before London, threw all things into such confusion, that the king was reduced to the necessity of entering into a negotiation; in which it was stipulated, that Godwin should give hostages for his good behaviour, and that all the foreigners should be banished, as well as the primate, a Norman of the name of Robert, promoted by Edward to the see of Canterbury, and who always had enjoyed the highest favour of his master. Edward, sensible that he had not power sufficient to secure Godwin's hostages in England, sent them over to his kinsman,

the young duke of Normandy. The death of Godwin, which happened soon after, prevented him from farther establishing the authority he had acquired, and from reducing Edward to still greater subjection. He was succeeded in the government of Wessex, Sussex, Kent, and Essex, and in the office of steward of the household, a place of great power, by his son Harold, who, as ambitious as his father, was superior to him in address, in insinuation, and in virtue. His modest and gentle demeanour softened that hatred which Edward had so long borne his family, and gaining every day new partizans by his bounty and affability, he soon raised his popularity to such a degree, that he began to be talked of as the most proper person to succeed to the crown. The king, alarmed at these rumours, sent for his nephew Edward from Hungary, who was, in fact, the direct descendant from the ancient Saxon kings. The prince soon arrived, but was scarcely landed when he died, leaving his pretensions to Edgar Atheling, who was too young, weak, and inactive to avail himself of his title. The king was sensible of it; but he could not bear the idea of being succeeded by the son of a man who had risen on the ruins of royal authority, and who, by the murder of Alfred, had so much contributed to the weakening of the Saxon line.

It is related by many historians, that Edward, in this situation, cast his eyes on William, duke of Normandy, as his successor, and that Robert, the archbishop of Canterbury, received commission to inform William of the king's intention in his favour. David Hume, who has adopted that opinion, has grounded it on very respectable authorities; and it must be confessed, that if there is no positive proof of that important fact, its reality is, at least, very probable. Be it as it may, Harold did never remit in obedience to the king, or in preparing his way

for his own advancement on the first vacancy to the throne: and two incidents which happened about this time, contributed very much to increase his popularity. The first was his repelling the Welch, commanded by prince Griffin, and rendering them tributary to the crown of England. The other incident was no less honourable. His brother Tosti, having grievously oppressed the people in Northumberland, where he was governor, was expelled in an insurrection, and Harold was ordered by the king to reinstate his brother, and punish the insurgents. But when they enumerated their grievances, supported by the strongest proofs of his brother's guilt, he sacrificed his affection to his duty, confirmed the governor, whom the Northumbrians had chosen, and procured their pardon from the king. From that time, Harold became the idol of the people, while Edward, broken with age and infirmities, was surprised by sickness, which brought him to his grave on the 5th January, 1066, in the 65th year of his age, and 26th of his reign.

This prince, to whom the titles of Saint and Confessor have been given, was the last of the Saxon line that ruled in England. Though his reign was peaceable and fortunate, he owed his prosperity more to the conjunctures of the times than to his abilities, as he had none but those which could be compatible with his indolence, irresolution, and credulity. He was the first king who, from his supposed sanctity, touched for the king's evil.

Harold ascended the throne without any opposition.



## HAROLD, twentieth King from the Heptarchy.

*Ann.* 1066.

The first enemies Harold had to combat were excited against him by his own brother Tosti, who, after being expelled from the government of Northumberland, had taken refuge in Flanders, and went among the princes of the continent, representing Harold as an usurper, and endeavouring to engage them in a league against him with some ships of the earl of Flanders. He himself made a descent upon the isle of Wight, which he laid under contribution, and pillaged along the coast until he was encountered and routed by Morcar, who had succeeded him in the government of Northumberland. He then joined Harfagar, king of Norway, who had been brought over by his intrigues, and arrived with a fleet of two hundred sail at the mouth of the river Humber. The new-raised undisciplined troops which were opposed to them were quickly routed, and York surrendered to the enemy. Harold, being informed of this misfortune, hastened to the defence of his people, who flocked from all quarters to join his standard. He reached the enemy at Stamford, and gave them battle. The action was very bloody, and ended in the total rout of the Norwegians, Harfagar their king, and Tosti being slain; but news was soon brought of a threatened invasion much more formidable, under the command of William, duke of Normandy.

William, surnamed afterwards the Conqueror, was the natural son of Robert duke of Normandy, known under the name of *Robert le Diable*. His mother's name was Arlette, a beautiful maid of Falaise, whom Robert fell in love with as she stood gazing at the door whilst he passed through the town. Robert, when old, resolved upon a pil-

grimage to Jerusalem according to the pious folly of the times; and instead of attending to the remonstrances of all his nobility against it, he showed them his son William, whom, though illegitimate, he tenderly loved, and recommended to their care, exacting from them an oath of homage and fealty to him. He then put him, as he was only ten years old, under the protection of the king of France, Henry I. whom Robert had assisted in many important occasions, namely, against the earl of Champagne, Eudes, whom he had defeated in three different battles. Thus young William was left the inheritor rather of the wishes than the crown of his father, who never returned from his pilgrimage.

William, when he came of age, found himself reduced to a very bad condition; but his great qualities both in the field and in the cabinet soon gave encouragement to his friends, and awed his enemies with terror. Tranquillity being thus restored in his dominions, some overtures made him by Edward the Confessor, in the latter end of his reign, inflamed his ambition with the desire of succeeding to the English throne; and Harold happening to go to Normandy, to release, with Edward's consent, his near relations given as hostages by earl Godwin for his good behaviour, William, on delivering them to Harold, had induced him to acknowledge his claims to the crown of England, and even to promise, upon oath, his supporting them.

When William first received intelligence of Harold's accession, he was moved to the highest pitch of indignation, and fixed his resolution of making the most powerful attempt upon England; but, that he might give the better colour to his pretension, he sent an embassy to Harold, upbraiding him with his breach of faith, and summoning him to resign immediate possession of the kingdom.

The answer of Harold was, as William had expected, that the oath with which he was reproached, having been extorted by the well-grounded fear of violence, could never be obligatory, and that it was his duty to seize the first opportunity of breaking it; that he had obtained the crown by the unanimous consent of the people; and that the duke, if he made any attempt by force of arms, should experience the power of an united nation, conducted by a prince, who, sensible of the obligations imposed on him by his royal dignity, was determined, that the same moment should put a period to his life and to his government.

The duke of Normandy finding that arms alone were to decide finally the question, prepared the most powerful means to assert his right. The fame of his intended invasion of England, being diffused over the whole continent, multitudes came to offer him their services in this expedition. The Pope himself countenanced his pretension, and immediately pronounced Harold an usurper. He denounced excommunication against him and all his adherents; and sent to the duke a consecrated banner to inspire him with confidence.

William, at the head of an army of sixty thousand chosen men, embarked this powerful body on board a fleet of three hundred sail, and landed at Pevensey, on the coast of Sussex. As he came on shore, he happened to stumble and fall; but instead of being discomposed at the accident, he had the presence of mind to turn the omen to his advantage by calling aloud, that he thus took possession of the country. Here he continued for a fortnight, either to refresh his troops or to know the reception his pretensions to the crown would meet with among the people. After having refreshed his men at this place, and sent back his fleet to Normandy to leave no retreat to cowardice,

he advanced along the sea-side to Hastings, where he published a manifesto, declaring the motives of his enterprise.

Harold, flushed with conquest from the defeat of the Norwegians, was now returning with all the forces he had employed in that expedition, and all he could collect in the country through which he passed. England had never seen before two such armies drawn up to dispute its crown. The day before the battle, William sent an offer to Harold to decide the quarrel between them by single combat, but Harold's answer was, that he would leave it to the God of armies to determine. Both armies, therefore, pitched in sight of each other that night. The English passed it in songs and feasting; the Normans, in devotion and prayer.

The next morning as soon as day appeared, both armies were drawn up in array against each other. Harold was in the centre of his forces, leading on his army on foot; William fought on horseback at the head of his army, that moved at once singing the song of Roland, one of the most famous knights of their country. A more furious battle was never fought: it lasted all the day long with an equal reciprocation of success. At length, William perceiving that the English line continued impenetrable, he pretended to give ground, which, as he expected, drew the enemy from their ranks; then, upon a signal being given, the Normans readily returned to the charge with greater fury than before, broke the English troops, and pursued them to a rising ground. Harold was seen in this extremity flying from rank to rank rallying and inspiring his troops with vigour. So that the fierceness and obstinacy of this memorable battle was often renewed by the courage of the leaders, whenever that of the soldiers began to slacken. Fortune at length decided the victory. Harold was shot through the brain by an arrow, and his two

valiant brothers, fighting by his side, shared the same fate. From that moment all courage seemed to forsake the English ; they gave ground on every side, and were pursued with great slaughter by the victorious Normans.

This battle, which was fought from morning till sun-set, took place on the 14th of October 1066. William had three horses killed under him, and there fell nearly fifteen thousand of the Normans, while the loss of the vanquished was yet more considerable.

Such was the end of the Saxon monarchy in England, where it had continued more than six hundred years.

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#### *General Observations on that Period.*

If the union of the several states of Britain into one powerful monarchy was, in some respects, a happy event to the church, by delivering the clergy from the great inconvenience of being subject to different and often contending sovereigns, this advantage was overbalanced by the more frequent and formidable invasions of the Danes ; as these savage pagans, finding the monasteries better stored with booty and provisions than any other places, plundered them in preference, putting to the sword, or selling for slaves, all the monks and priests that fell into their hands. Among those who had the good fortune of making their escape, many abandoned their profession on account of its dangers, others retired into country-villages, and performed their religious duties to the people of the neighbourhood. This became the occasion of building many parish churches, of which there were very few before this time. Another change, no less re-

markable, produced by the same circumstance, was, that when the priests were thus dispersed and blended with the people, they generally embraced a married life; and at the end of the century, there remained hardly a monastery or a monk in England, and but few unmarried clergymen. (Innel's Church History, c. 17.)

The devastations of the Danes being gradually carried into all parts of England in the course of this century (ix), the monasteries and other seats of learning were everywhere laid in the dust, and the very last glimmering of literary knowledge almost entirely extinguished. "At my accession to the throne," says Alfred the Great, in his letter to the bishop of Worcester, "all knowledge and learning was extinguished in the English nation, insomuch that there were very few to the south of the Humber who understood the common prayers of the church, or were capable of translating a single sentence of Latin into English; but to the south of the Thames, I cannot recollect so much as one who could do this." However, in this dark period, the most learned man of Europe was a native of Scotland, called Johannes Scotus Erigena, surnamed the *Wise*, on account of his deep and extensive erudition. In philosophy he had no superior, and in languages no equal. His acute and penetrating genius was at the same time very pleasing and facetious, which rendered his conversation as agreeable as it was instructive, and procured him from the Emperor Charles the Bald, an invitation to the court of France. There he lived several years on a footing of the most intimate friendship and familiarity with the monarch, who admitted him daily to his table, and permitted him to sleep in the royal apartments. We may judge of the freedom which he used with Charles, by the following anecdote related in Hove-

dini annal. an. 806. "As the King and Scotus "were sitting one day at table opposite to each "other, after dinner, drinking a cheerful glass, "the philosopher having said something that was "not quite agreeable to the rules of French politeness, the king, in a merry humour, asked him, "*Pray, what is between a Scot, and a Sot?* to "which he answered, *nothing but the table.*" The king, says the historian, laughed heartily, and was not in the least offended; he made it a rule never to be angry with his master, as he always called Scotus.

The reign of Alfred the Great, from 871 to 901, is a most memorable period in the annals of learning, and affords more materials for literary history than two or three centuries either before or after. But soon after his death, learning began to languish and decline; in the mean time, all Europe was involved in such profound darkness, that the writers of literary history are at a loss for words to paint the ignorance, stupidity, and barbarism of that age, in which the trials by fire and water ordeals, the belief of the most ridiculous stories of visions or apparitions, and so many other gross errors and wretched superstitions, almost generally prevailed.

The power of the Danes, and the confusion and misery thereby occasioned, which, from the death of Alfred, and during the whole course of the tenth century, had been so fatal to learning, continued to increase and to produce the same effects in the beginning of the eleventh century. Oxford was reduced to ashes in 1009, and Cambridge shared the same fate the year after. Thus all the establishments in these places in favour of learning were utterly destroyed, as well as the greatest part of the monasteries, churches, cities, and towns in England.

The degree of ignorance and superstition which existed at that period in the church of England, is sufficiently proved by the frequency of pilgrimages to Rome, by the prodigious sums expended in the purchase of relics, and by the immense donations made to monasteries. The roads between England and Rome were, at that time, so crowded with pilgrims, that the very tolls which they paid were an object of importance to the princes through whose territories they passed; very few Englishmen, indeed, imagined they could get to Heaven without paying that civility to St. Peter, who kept the keys of Paradise. Kings, princes, and wealthy prelates, purchased pieces of the cross, or whole legs and arms of Apostles, while inferior pilgrims were obliged to be contented with the smallest relics of inferior Saints. Agelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, when he was at Rome in 1021, purchased from the Pope an arm of St. Augustin, for six thousand weight of silver, and sixty pounds weight of gold. As to the properties of the clergy, it was ascertained, that at the death of Edward the Confessor, more than one third of all the lands of England were in their possession, exempted from all taxes. (Vid. W. Malmesbury, l. ii. c. 2. Spelman's Glossary, p. 396.)

When the invasions of the Danes became frequent, they were often bribed with a sum of money to desist from their depredations; and as the ordinary revenues of the crown were quite inadequate to that additional expence, a tax of one Saxon shilling at first, and afterwards of two or more shillings was imposed on every hide of land in the kingdom. A hide contained land sufficient to employ one plough or about one hundred acres; and as there were two hundred and forty-three thousand six hundred hides of land in England, that tax, which was called *danegelt*, or the Danish



tax, or payment, produced, at the rate of one shilling on each hide, twelve thousand one hundred and eighty Saxon pounds, equal in quantity of silver to about thirty thousand five hundred and forty pounds sterling. It was raised at last at seven shillings on every hide of land, and continued to be levied long after the original occasion of imposing it had ceased. It became one of the chief branches of the royal revenue, after the accession of the Danish princes to the throne of England, and was raised so high, that it amounted, in 1018, to the prodigious sum of seventy-one thousand Saxon pounds, besides eleven thousand pounds paid by the city of London. It was finally abolished about seventy years after the Norman conquest.

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## APPENDIX.

*The most important Occurrences belonging to this Period are proved by the Testimony of the following Historians.*

Bede, Hist. Eccl. l. 2. cap. 19. l. 3. cap. 25. l. 5. cap. 6. 7. 16. 21. 22.	Fordun, l. 3. c. 53. l. 4. c. 3. 15. 16. 20. 25. 33. 41. 43. 44. 46. l. 5. c. 2. 7.
Tacit. de Mor. Germ. cap. 7. 11. 12. 21.	Hoveden's Annals for the corresponding years.
Chron. Sax. from page 64 to page 172.	Annals, Saxon. passim.
Will. Malmesbury, l. 2. c. 2. 3. 4. to 22. l. 4. c. 4.	Wilkins Leges Saxon, passim.
Huntingdon, l. 1. 4. 5. 6. 7.	Osborn in Anglia Sacra, passim.
Boethius, l. 2. 10. 11. 12.	Biographia Britann. passim.
Buchanan, l. 3. 5. 6. 7.	Ducange's Glossar.
	Spelman's Glossar.

## MEMORANDA

*Of some principal Events which occurred during that Period in the other States of Europe.*

A.D.

832 Rules of proof abolished in France by Lewis le Debonnaire.

As those rules were nearly the same in all the northern parts of Europe, and even in England, a few particulars on this matter may be useful, to show how far the human mind may be misled by ignorance or superstition.

Our European ancestors admitted as a law, that should any controversy about any fact whatsoever become too intricate for the judges to unravel, they should recur to what they called the judgment of God; as it is mentioned in the Ripuarian law. There were many means of applying to it. One of them was the decision by the cross, which was practised in this manner. When a person was accused of any crime, he first cleared himself by oath, and he was attended by eleven compurgators at least, and in some cases by three hundred, who, as they did not pretend to know any thing of the fact, expressed upon oath that they believed the person spoke true. He next took two pieces of wood, one of which was marked with the sign of the cross, and wrapping both up in wool, he placed them on the altar, or on some celebrated relic. After solemn prayers for the success of the experiment, a priest, or in his stead some inexperienced youth, took up one of the pieces of wood, and if it happened to be that which was marked with the figure of the cross, the person was pronounced innocent; if otherwise, guilty.

The ordeal was another method of trial; it was practised either by boiling water or red-hot iron. The former was appropriated to the common people, the latter to the nobility. The water or iron was consecrated by many prayers, masses, fastings, and exorcisms; after which, the person accused either took up a stone sunk in the water to a certain depth, or carried the

A.D.

iron to a certain distance; his hand being then wrapped up, and the covering sealed for three days, if there appeared, on examining it, no marks of burning, he was pronounced innocent, if otherwise, guilty. The trial by cold water was different. The person was thrown into consecrated water; if he swam, he was guilty; if he sunk, innocent. The practice of single combat was the most generally employed as a remedy against false accusations, and became a species of jurisprudence. The cases were determined by law, in which the party might challenge his adversary, or the witnesses, or the judge himself. If the parties did not choose to fight themselves, they were allowed to employ hired champions, who fought for them, and in both cases, the vanquished party, either accused or accuser, was declared guilty, and sentenced accordingly.

The judgment of God was not only applied to in law-suits or private controversies, but even on political and theological matters. In Germany, when it was to be determined if representation in the inheritances should be admitted only in the direct line, the opinions happening to be divided, the question was decided by a single combat. In Spain, a great controversy arose to determine if the Roman liturgy should be preferred to the Musarabian or not, the question was referred to a single combat; this decision, indeed, was found unreasonable, but that which was adopted instead of it, did not deserve a better qualification, as it was ordered, that these two prayer books should be thrown into the fire, and that the one that would resist the flames should be preferred. These trials were abolished in England by William the Conqueror.

In 876, the Emperor Charles the Bald, having invaded German Lorraine, and refusing to acknowledge that Lewis III, king of Saxony, had any right upon it, the latter refers the question to the judgment of God. Accordingly, ten men submitted themselves, in his cause, to the trial of the red-hot iron, ten to that of the boiling water, and ten more to that of the cold water. It is not related what was the result of those trials; but their consequence was not the restitution of

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Lorraine, which continued to make a part of the empire.

- 840 The clergy in France re-instated in the liberty of their elections, the power of confirming them only reserved to the Emperor.

The Popes are permitted by Lewis le Debonnaire to take possession of the Holy See, without waiting for his confirmation.

- 843 Kenneth Mac Alpin subdues the Picts, and obliges them to incorporate themselves with their conquerors, by taking their name and adopting their laws.

- 911 Death of Louis IV. who was the last Emperor of the Carolingian dynasty, though the empire was devolved to Charles le Simple, but his extreme weakness prevented him from opposing its being transferred to the German princes, and Conrad I. was immediately elected king of Germany.

- 912 The king of France, Charles le Simple, yielding to the representation of his subjects, makes peace with the Normans, and gives his daughter in marriage to their famous chieftain Rollon, with that part of Neustria, which they already called Normandy, and of which he was the first duke.

- 922 Disturbances and civil wars in France. Robert, earl of Paris, the son of the late king Eudes, and Raoul, duke of Burgundy, his son-in-law, revolt against Charles le Simple. Robert is consecrated king of France at Rheims, but soon after killed at the battle of Soissons, which ended in favour of the rebels, commanded by the son of Robert Hugh the Great, who refused the crown, and put it on the head of the duke Raoul, while Charles le Simple fled for refuge to the king of Germany, and afterwards to the earl of Vermandois, who confined him in the castle of Peronne, where he died in 929. He had been previously compelled, by the grandees and nobility of his kingdom, to divide his dominions into seven great governments, and many counties, which, in some measure, introduced in France, for the first time, the peerage and feudal tenures; as through the weakness of the prince, those dignities, originally conferred for life, were usurped for ever, as well as the whole territory included in their limits, and which the usurpers divided and subdivided

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as they pleased, to increase the number of their vassals; thence sprang the feudal tenures, under tenures, &c. &c.

936 The Saracen empire is divided by usurpation into seven kingdoms.

963 Council at Rome, where the Pope John XII. accused of sacrilege, and many other enormities, is summoned to appear and answer to the accusations. On his refusing to obey the summons, he is deposed, and Leo VIII. elected by the council, conjointly with the emperor Otho I. In the next year, Otho convened a new council at Rome in the Lateran Palace, where, he presiding jointly with Leo VIII. the election of the Anti-pope Benedict V. was declared void, and then, the Pope, the council, and the Roman clergy, granted and confirmed to Otho and his successors, the right of disposing, as Emperor and Patriciate, of the Holy See, as well as that of ordering the installation of the new Popes, and grant the investiture to the archbishop of the empire; all elections and consecrations made without their consent being declared void and abusive.

975 Insurrection at Rome against the Pope Benedict VI. who is murdered, and Boniface VII. elected. But he is banished Rome by the emperor's order. Benedict VII. is promoted to the Holy See, and the Anti-pope Boniface flies to Constantinople.

987 The Carolingian dynasty, weakened and degraded by the imbecility of its last princes, loses the crown of France, which is assumed by Hugh Capel, the chief of the third dynasty.

996 The kingdoms of Poland and Hungary first established, the former by the emperor Otho III. in favour of Boleslas, a Polish prince, the latter by the Pope Gregory V. in favour of Stephen, duke of Hungary.

1041 God's truce established in France, by a law which prohibited all single combats from every Wednesday in the evening to the next Monday morning, the intermediate days being consecrated by the last mysteries of our Saviour's life.

1043 The Turks, a nation of adventurers, from Tartary, become formidable, and take possession of Persia.

1054 Leo IX, the first Pope that kept up an army.

1056 The emperor, Henry III. died. Three years before,

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in the diet held at Tribur, he had his son Henry IV. then three years old only, declared king of the Romans and successor to the empire. Thus was introduced the usage of the emperors of Germany assuming first the title of kings of the Romans before their being elected to the empire. It is to be remarked, that after having lost all dominion in Italy, they preserved the title of kings of the Romans for the only purpose of insuring in their family the succession to the empire, by pointing out under a title, which had no longer any reality, those of their children they chose to succeed them.

1057 Malcolm III. king of Scotland, kills Macbeth at Dun-  
sinane, and marries the princess Margaret, sister to  
Edgar Atheling.

1065 The Turks take Jerusalem from the Saracens.

*A List of the principal Learned or Illustrious Men-  
who lived during that Period, pointing out the  
Year of their Death.*

803	Jean Scot.	988	Adalberon.
840	Eginhard, the historian.	1008	Aimonius.
882	Hincmar.	1010	Bertha, a famous learned nun of the archbishopric of Cologne.
887	Anastasius, the librarian.	1036	Avicenne.
902	908 Reginon, and his continua- tor.	1012	Burkard, bishop of Worms, a celebrated compiler of the canon laws,
963	Luitprand, bishop of Cre- mone, historian.		
966	Flodoart, or Frodoart, the historian.		

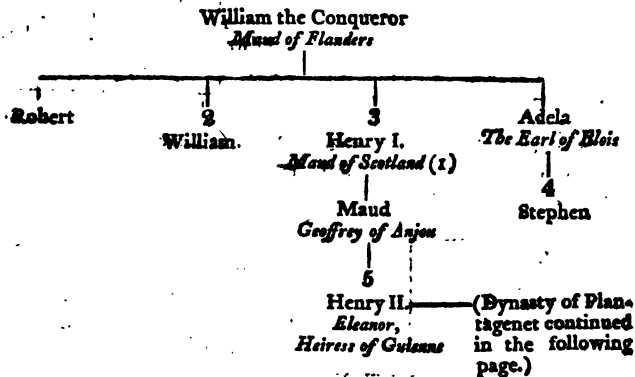
*A list of the Cotemporary Princes, with the date of their Death.*

<i>Popes.</i>	Stephen X.	1058	Otho III.	1002	Eric VI.	917	
Valentinus	827	Nicolas II.	1061	Henry II.	1024	Eric VII.	940
Gregory IV.	844	Alexander II.	1073	Conrad II.	1039	Eric VIII.	980
Sergius II.	847			Henry III.	1056	Olaf II. the	
Leo IV.	855	<i>Emperors of the</i>		Henry IV.	1106	first king	
Benedict III.	858	<i>East.</i>				of Sweden	
Nicolas I.	867	Theophilus	842	<i>Kings of France.</i>		who em-	
Adrian II.	872	Michael III.	867	Charles the		braced	
John VIII.	882	Bazil I.	886	Bald	877	christianity	
Adrian III.	885	Leo VI.	911	Lewis the			1019
Formosus	886	Alexander	912	Stammerer	877	Amund	1035
Stephen VI.	891	Constantine		Carloman	880	Emund Stem-	
Boniface VI.	896	IX.	960	Charles the		me	1041
Stephen VII.	897	Roman II.	963	Fat	888	Hacquin	1059
Romanus	898	Nicephorus		Arnoul	899	Stinkil	1061
Theodorus	898	and Phocas	969	Lewis IV.	954	Ingo III.	1064
John IX.	900	John Zimisces	975	Lothaire	986	Haldestan	1080
Benedict IV.	903	Bazil III.	1025	Lewis V.	987		
Leo V.	903	Constantine		Hugh Capet,		<i>Kings of Scotland.</i>	
Christophe	904	X.	1028	the chief of		Kenneth II.	856
Sergius III.	911	Roman Ar-		the third dy-		Donald V.	858
Anastasius III.	913	gyrus	1034	nasty	996	Constantine II.	874
Landon	914	Michael IV.	1041	Robert	1031	Ethe	875
John X.	928	Michael Ca-		Henry I.	1060	Gregory	892
Leo VI.	929	lophates	1042	Philip I.	1108	Donald VI.	903
Stephen VIII.	931	Zos & Theo-				Constantine	
John XI.	936	dorus	1056	<i>Kings of Spain.</i>		III.	943
Leo VII.	939	Michael VI.	1057	Ramire	851	Malcolm	958
Stephen IX.	943	Isaac Com-		Ordogne	862	Indulph	969
Marianus II.	946	nene	1059	Alphonso the		Duff	972
Agapet II.	955	Constantine		Great	910	Culne	976
John XII.	963	Ducas	1067	Garcias	913	Kenneth III.	984
Leo VIII.	965			Ordogne II.	924	Constantine	
Benedict V.	965	<i>Emperors of the</i>		Froila	924	IV.	985
John XIII.	972	<i>West.</i>		Alphons IV.	931	Grime	993
Domnus II.	972	Charlemagne	814	Ramire II.	950	Malcolm II.	1023
Benedict VI.	974	Louis le De-		Ordogne III.	955	Duncan	1030
Benedict VII.	984	bonnaire	840	Sanche	967	Macbeth	1047
John XIV.	985	Charles the		Ramire III.	982	Malcolm III.	1084
John XV.	996	Bald	877	Veremond II.	999		
Gregory V.	999	Louis the		Alphons V.	1028	<i>Kings of Denmark.</i>	
Silvester II.	1003	Stammerer	877	Veremond III.		Herold	980
John XVI.		Carloman	880		1037	Suenon	1014
Said XVIII.	1003	Charles the		Ferdinand the		Canute the	
John XVII.		Fat	888	Great	1065	Great	1036
Said XIX.	1009	Arnoul	899	Sanche II.	1073	Harold	1040
Sergius IV.	1012	Lewis IV.	954			Hardicanute	1042
Benedict VIII.	1024	Conrad I.	919	<i>Kings of Sweden.</i>		Magrus	1048
John XX.	1033	Henry I. the		Sward II.	834	Suenon II.	1074
Benedict IX.	1046	chief of the		Herot	856		
Gregory VI.	1046	imperial		Charles VI.	868	<i>Kings of Poland.</i>	
Clement II.	1047	house of		Bior IV.	883	Boleslas	1025
Damascus II.	1048	Saxony	936	Ingiald	891	Micislas	1034
Leo IX. (St.)	1048	Otho I.	973	Olaf	900	Casimir	1058
Victor II.	1057	Otho II.	983	Ingo II.	907	Boleslas II.	1079

To face page 124, vol. i.

In these Genealogical Tables, all children without issue, or whose issue does not interfere with the succession to the throne, are not mentioned.

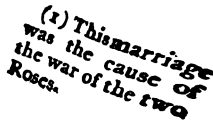
### NORMAN DYNASTY.



(1) Daughter of Malcolm III. by the sister of Edgar Atheling, nephew to Edward the Confessor, and after him the only heir to the crown; but deprived of it by the usurpation of Harold. Edgar Atheling having left no issue, his right to the English throne devolved on his sister Margaret, Queen of Scotland, and after her to her daughter Maud, who, by marrying Henry I. began the restoration of the Saxon family, which has ever since continued on the English throne through the female line.



Richard L.  
Bowers of  
Denver



*PERIOD THE FOURTH.*

FROM THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR TO THAT  
OF HENRY II.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

*Ann. 1066, 1067.*

[Natural son of Richard duke of Normandy, by a tanner's daughter of Falaise. He was born in 1025 ; married to Matilda of Flanders ; crowned king of England, Dec. 25, 1066 ; he crowned his wife Matilda, 1068 ; contracted a rupture, of which he died, 1088, aged 63, at Hermentrude, near Rouen ; was buried at Caen in Normandy.]

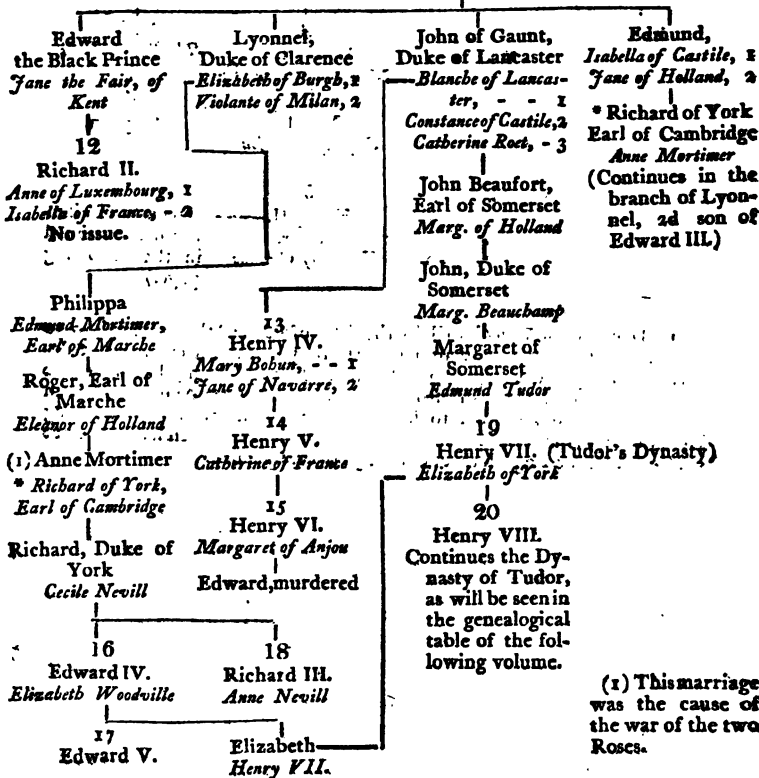
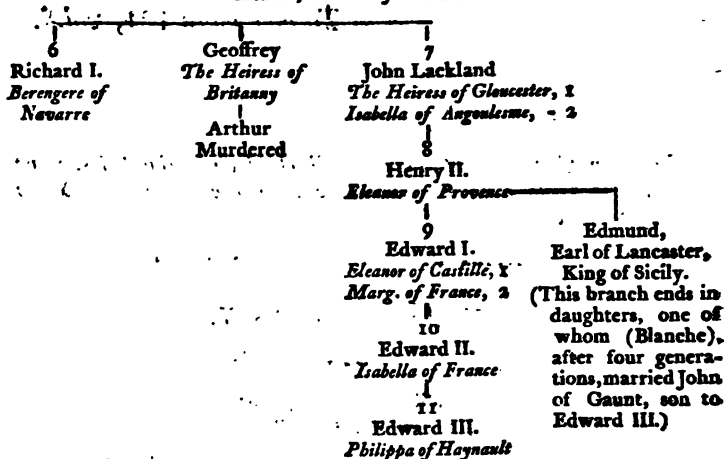
AFTER the pursuit of the flying enemy, and a short refreshment of his own army, William marched to Romney, whose inhabitants he severely punished on account of their cruel treatment of some Norman soldiers or seamen who had been carried thither by stress of weather, or by a mistake in their way. But before advancing farther into the country, he deemed it necessary to make himself master of Dover, which would both secure him a retreat in case of adverse fortune, and a safe landing for such supplies as might be requisite. Such was the terror diffused by the victory of Hastings, that the garrison of Dover, though numerous and well provided, immediately capitulated. The Norman army being much distressed with a dysentery, remained there eight days, after which they advanced by quick marches towards London. As soon as William passed the Thames at Wallingford,

# DYNASTY OF PLANTAGENET.

5

Henry II.

Eleanor, Heiress of Guienne



(1) This marriage was the cause of the war of the two Roses.

*PERIOD THE FOURTH.*

FROM THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR TO THAT  
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Stigand, the primate, made submissions to him in the name of the clergy; and before he came within sight of the city, all the chief nobility, and Edgar Atheling himself, the right heir to the crown, who, just before, had been created king, came into his camp and declared their readiness to submit to his authority. He accepted the crown, and though he had it in his power to dictate his own conditions, he condescended to acquiesce in the terms that were offered him, which were, that he should govern according to the established customs of the country. Orders were immediately issued to prepare every thing for his coronation. He would not be consecrated by the primate Stigand, because he had intruded into the See, on the expulsion of Robert the Norman, and he conferred the honour on Aldred, archbishop of York, and Westminster-Abbey was the place appointed for that magnificent ceremony, which took place on the 26th of December, 1060. Aldred administered to the duke the usual coronation-oath, by which he bound himself to protect the church, to administer justice, and to repress violence.

A few days after his coronation, the new king retired from London to Barking in Essex, and there he received the submission of all the nobility who had not attended the ceremony. The principal noblemen of England who swore fealty to him, were received into favour, and confirmed in the possession of their estates and dignities. His next care was to reward the brave followers of his fortunes; and as he was supplied with the treasure of Harold, which was considerable, and with rich presents from all the opulent men in England, he distributed great sums among his troops. The ecclesiastics and monks, both at home and abroad, who had much forwarded his success, received handsome tokens of his gratitude. He divided the lands of

the English barons, who had opposed him, among the Norman barons. And such as he could neither supply with money or lands, he appointed to the vacant offices of the state ; many others were quartered in the rich abbeys of the kingdom, until better means offered for their advancement.

He introduced in England that strict execution of the law, for which his administration had been so much celebrated in Normandy. His army, in particular, was kept under a very severe discipline, to prevent any occasion of complaint from his new subjects, whom he appeared solicitous to unite in an amicable manner with the Normans, by intermarriages and alliances. He not only confirmed Edgar Atheling, the heir of the ancient royal family, in the honours of Earl of Oxford conferred on him by Harold, but he affected to treat him with the greatest kindness, as a nephew to Edward the Confessor, his great friend and benefactor.

The liberties and immunities of London, and the other cities in England, were confirmed by the king, who seemed desirous of replacing every thing on the ancient footing. But amidst this confidence and kindness which he expressed for the English, he took care to place all real power in the hands of the Normans. He disarmed the city of London and other places ; and, building citadels in that capital, as well as in Winchester, Hereford, and the cities best situated for commanding the kingdom, he quartered Norman soldiers in all of them, and left nowhere any power able to resist him. Thus, while his civil administration was that of a legal magistrate, his military institutions were those of the most absolute master.

Having thus secured the government, and by a mixture of rigour and lenity reduced the English to a complete submission, he resolved to return to the continent, there to enjoy the congratulations of

his ancient subjects: he set sail in the month of March 1067, and left the administration in the hands of his uterine brother, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and of William Fitz-Osborne. That their authority might be exposed to less danger, the king carried over with him all the most considerable nobility of England, who, while they served to grace his court by their magnificence, were in reality hostages for the fidelity of the nation. He resided for some time at the abbey of Fescamp, where he was visited by Rodolph, uncle to the king of France, and by many powerful princes and nobles, whom he received with a great display of splendour.

In the mean time, the king's absence produced the most fatal effects in England. Discontents and complaints multiplied every where. His officers, being no longer controuled by his justice, thought this a fit opportunity for extortion, while the English, no longer awed by his presence, thought it the happiest occasion to vindicate their freedom; every thing seemed to announce a revolution as rapid as that which had placed William on the throne; hostilities were already begun in many places; an attack had been made upon the garrison of Dover; but the Normans being upon their guard, the assailants had been repulsed every where with some slaughter. A secret conspiracy was therefore entered into, for destroying all the Normans in the same day, as it had been done with the Danes. The conspirators had already fixed the day for the intended massacre, which was to take place on Ash-Wednesday, during the time of divine service. But William, informed of these commotions, hastened over to England on the 6th of December, and disconcerted their schemes by his presence,

*Ann. 1068.*

The inhabitants of Exeter, instigated by Githa,

mother to king Harold, and strengthened by the accession of the neighbouring inhabitants of Devonshire and Cornwall, refuse to receive a Norman garrison; but, on the king's sudden approach, they submit and deliver hostages for their obedience. This agreement being broken by the populace, William appears before the walls, and orders the eyes of one of the hostages to be put out. The rebels, seized with terror at this act of severity, throw themselves at the king's feet, surrendering at discretion, and supplicating his clemency and forgiveness; their example is imitated by the malcontents of Cornwall, William condescends to pardon them, and after having built a citadel at Exeter, and quartered a Norman garrison in it, he returns to Winchester, and sends his army into their quarters.

Another insurrection breaks out in the north, excited by Edwin and Morcar, the two most powerful noblemen in England, supported by the prince of North Wales, and by the kings of Scotland and Denmark. William knowing the importance of celerity in such cases, advances by great journies to the north, and reaches York before the rebels were joined by any of the foreign succours they expected. The two earls found no other means of safety, but having recourse to the clemency of the king, who pardoned them, and allowed them for the present to keep possession of their estates, but he confiscated the lands of all their followers, and gave them away to his Norman soldiers, expecting that the multitude being terrified by such examples of severity, the insurrections would become at last less frequent and less numerous. In the mean time, he began to consider all his English subjects as inveterate enemies, and therefore, either embraced, or was more fully confirmed in the resolution of seizing their possessions, and of reducing them to the



most passive submission and obedience, while he would rely entirely on the support and affections of his followers.

The English soon perceived that none of them possessed the king's confidence, or was entrusted with any command of authority, and that, instead of a sovereign whom they had hoped to gain by their submission, they had tamely surrendered themselves, not only to a conqueror, but to a tyrant. Impressed with the sense of this dismal situation, many fled into foreign countries. They were so well received by Malcolm, in Scotland, that some of these exiles settled there, and laid the foundation of families, which afterwards made a figure in that country.

While the English suffered under this oppression, and particularly from the continual and unpunished insults they received from the Normans; these foreigners, surrounded on all sides by enraged enemies, were not much at their ease, and a day seldom passed but some of them were found assassinated in the woods and high-ways, without any possibility of bringing the murderers to justice. Thus, in spite of the favours they daily received from the king, they began to wish again for the tranquillity and security of their native country, and desired to be dismissed the service; a desertion, which was highly resented by the king, and punished by the confiscation of all their possessions in England.

*Ann. 1069 to 72.*

The Northumbrians attack the Norman garrison in Durham, put the governor and seven hundred of his men to the sword. The Norman governor of York shares the same fate, and the insurgents, reinforced by the Danes and some leaders from Scotland, besieged Mallet, its governor, who, the

better to provide for the defence of the citadel, set fire to some houses which lay contiguous; but the fire spreading over the whole city, the enraged inhabitants join in the assault, enter the citadel sword in hand, and destroy the whole garrison. A general spirit of insurrection produced by this success, pervades the counties of Somerset, Dorset, Cornwall, and Devon; they determine to unite in the common cause, and make a great effort for the recovery of their former freedom.

William, undaunted amidst these scenes of disorder and rebellion, assembles his forces, and leads them towards the north, conscious that his presence will be sufficient to repress these commotions; and in fact, wherever he appears, the insurgents either submit or retire. The immense power of William being thus acknowledged, he resolves to throw off all appearance of lenity, accordingly, he orders the county of Northumberland to be laid waste, the houses to be burnt, the instruments of husbandry to be destroyed, and the inhabitants to seek new habitations. He next proceeded to confiscate all the estates of the gentry, and reforming the feudal law introduced by the Saxons, according to that practised in Normandy; he divided all the lands in England, except the royal demesne, into baronies, which he conferred upon certain conditions of military service on the most considerable of his followers. These were empowered to share their grants to inferior tenants who were denominated knights or vassals, and who paid their lord the same duty that he paid the sovereign. To the first class of those baronies the English were not admitted; and the few who were permitted still to retain their landed property, were content to be received in the second. The barons exercised all kind of jurisdiction within their own manors, and held courts, in which they administered justice to their

vassals. The ecclesiastical landed properties were submitted to the same feudal law. The bishops and abbots were obliged, accordingly, to furnish to the king, when required, a number of knights or military tenants, in proportion to the extent of their property.

The devoted attachment of William to Rome, did not prevent him from prohibiting his subjects from acknowledging any one for Pope, whom he himself had not previously acknowledged. He required, that all the ecclesiastical canons voted in any synod, should first be laid before him, and ratified by his authority. Even bulls or letters from Rome, could not legally be produced till they received his sanction.

The laws, and the pleadings in the supreme courts of judicature were in French; the deeds were often drawn up in the same language. William, had even entertained the difficult project of totally abolishing the English idiom, and for that purpose, he ordered, that in all the schools of the kingdom, the youth should be instructed in French; a practice, which was continued from custom, until the reign of Edward III. No other tongue was used at court, nor in any fashionable company. Thence proceeded that mixture of French, which composes at present, the greatest part of the English language.

*Ann. 1073 to 1075.*

The province of Maine in France, had fallen under the dominion of William, before his conquest of England; but the inhabitants, dissatisfied with the Norman government, now arose in rebellion, and expelled the magistrates whom the king had placed over them. The full settlement of England, afforded him leisure to punish this insult on

his authority. Unwilling, however, to draw off his Norman forces from England, he carried over a considerable army, composed almost entirely of English, and joining them to some troops levied in Normandy, he soon reduced the revolters to submission. But, during these transactions, the government of England was greatly disturbed by the joint efforts of the Normans, as well as the English. The adventurers who had followed William in England, had been bred in independence at home, and were ill able to endure the absolute authority which this monarch had, for some time, assumed. They inveighed against his avarice and the severity of his government; they observed, that, by means of his excessive impositions he had taken with one hand what he had given with the other. They affected to commiserate the English, whom he had reduced to beggary, and who, ready enough to concur, at any time, in these complaints, unanimously entered into a conspiracy to shake off this tyrannical yoke; and earl Waltheoff, who, after his capitulation at York, had been received into favour by the conqueror, and was the last of the English possessed of any authority, was among the foremost on this occasion. But the primate, Lanfranc, to whom he discovered, in confession, the secret of the conspiracy, persuaded him to repent, and to atone for his guilt by revealing it to the king.

The conspirators hearing of Waltheoff's departure, immediately concluded their design to be betrayed, and they flew to arms before their schemes were ripe for execution. The consequence was, that they were defeated every where by the king's troops, so that William, upon his arrival in England, found that nothing remained for him to do but to punish the criminals, which was performed with the greatest severity. Many of the rebels were

hanged, some had their eyes put out, and others their hands cut off. The unfortunate Waltheoff, who, before his revealing his guilt, had been betrayed by his infamous wife, a niece to the king, was tried, condemned, and executed.

Having thus extinguished rebellion with blood, William returned once more to the continent, to pursue Ralph Guader, one of the principal rebels, who, escaping from England, had taken refuge with the earl of Brittany. Finding him, however, powerfully protected, not only by that prince, but by the king of France, he wisely came to a treaty with the earl of Brittany, in which Ralph Guader, or Gauder, was included.

*Ann. 1076 to 80.*

The king is detained in Normandy, by disturbances originally proceeding from his own family. He had four sons, Robert, Richard, William, and Henry. Robert, surnamed Gambaron or Courthose, from his short legs, had inherited the bravery, impetuosity, and ambitious character of William. Impatient of contradiction, he could endure no controul even from his imperious father, and openly aspired to that independence to which some circumstances in his situation invited him. When William received the submissions of the province of Maine, he had promised the inhabitants, that Robert should be their prince, and before his expedition against England, he had, on the application of the French court, declared him his successor in Normandy, and had obliged the barons of that duchy to do him homage as their future sovereign. But when Robert demanded the execution of those engagements, he received an absolute denial, the king shrewdly observing, that it was not his custom to throw off his clothes till he went to

bed. Robert openly declared his discontent, and was often heard to express his jealousy against his two surviving brothers, William and Henry, for Richard was killed in hunting, by a stag.

The three princes, residing with their father in the castle of l'Aigle, in Normandy, were one day engaged in sport together, and after some mirth, the two younger took a fancy of throwing over some water on Robert as he passed through the court, on leaving their apartment. Robert, all alive to suspicion, quickly turned this innocent frolic into a premeditated insult, and being still further inflamed by one of his favourites, he drew his sword, and ran up stairs with an intent to take revenge. The whole castle was filled with tumult, and it was not without difficulty that the king was able to appease it. But he could by no means appease the resentment of Robert, who, complaining of his partiality, hastened that very evening to Rouen, with the intention of surprising the citadel of that place. But, being disappointed in this view by the vigilance of the governor, he openly levied an army against his father. The popular character of Robert engaged all the young nobility of the neighbouring provinces to take part with him, and it was suspected, that Matilda, his mother, supported him by secret remittances, and by private encouragement.

All the hereditary provinces of William were, during several years, thrown into convulsions by this war, until he called over an English army under his ancient captains, who soon restored the authority of the sovereign in all his dominions. Robert was obliged to take shelter in the castle of Gerberoy, in the Beauvoisis; which the king of France, who secretly fomented these dissensions, had provided for him. In this fortress he was closely besieged by his father, against whom he

made an obstinate defence. There he happened to engage the king, who was concealed by his helmet, and both of them being valiant, a fierce combat ensued, till at last the young prince wounded his father in the arm, and unhorsed him. On his calling out for assistance, his voice discovered him to his son, who, struck with remorse for his past guilt, and shuddering at the apprehensions of one much greater, which he had so nearly incurred, instantly threw himself at his father's feet, craved pardon for his offences, and offered to purchase forgiveness by an atonement. But William, implacable in his resentment, instead of pardoning his son, gave him his malediction, and departed for his own camp on Robert's horse, which the prince had assisted him to mount, and soon after raised the siege. However, the conduct of the son served, after some recollection, to appease the father. As soon as William was returned to Rouen, he was sincerely reconciled to Robert, and carried him into England, where he was successfully employed in retaliating an invasion of Malcolm, king of Scotland. Justices of the peace first appointed in England. The tower of London was built nearly about the same time.

*Ann, 1081.*

Commissioners are appointed by the king for a general survey of the lands in the kingdom, pointing out their extent in each district, their proprietors, tenures, value, the nature and quality of the soil, &c. &c. and to enter every particular in a register, by the verdict of juries. This register, called domesday-book, is still preserved in the exchequer, and serves to illustrate in many particulars the ancient state of England.

William, extremely addicted to the diversion of

hunting, resolved to plant a new forest near Winchester, the usual place of his residence; and for that purpose, he laid waste the country in Hampshire, to the extent of thirty miles, turning out the inhabitants, seizing their property, even demolishing villages, churches, and convents, without any compensation for such injuries. In the mean time, he enacted new laws of the most barbarous severity, by which he prohibited all his subjects from hunting in any of his forests. The killing of a deer or boar, or even a hare, was punished with the loss of the delinquent's eyes, when the killing of a man could be atoned by paying a moderate fine or composition.

In the general distribution of land among his followers, William had kept possession for himself of one thousand four hundred manors in different parts of England, which paid him rent in money or in corn, cattle, &c. An ancient historian computes, that his annual fixed income besides escheats, fines, reliefs, and other casual profits to a great value, amounted to near four hundred thousand pounds a year, a sum which, if all circumstances be attended to, would be equal to at least nine or ten millions at present; and as he had neither fleet nor army to support, the former being only an occasional expence, and the latter being maintained without any charge to him by his military vassals, it must thence be concluded, that no sovereign in any age or nation, can be compared for opulence to William the Conqueror.

The events which took place during the remainder of his reign may be considered more as private occurrences than as national transactions. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, his uterine brother, having amassed an immense fortune, had been induced by the predictions of an astrologer, to form the chimerical project of buying the papacy. Resolving,



therefore, to remit all his riches in Italy, he had persuaded many considerable barons to take the same course, in hopes that when he should mount the papal throne, he would bestow on them more considerable establishments in that country. The king, from whom all these projects had been carefully concealed, at last got intelligence of the design, and ordered Odo to be arrested. He was sent prisoner to Normandy, where he was detained in custody during the remainder of this reign, notwithstanding the remonstrances and menaces of the Pope Gregory, to whom William replied, that he had arrested Odo not as bishop of Bayeux, but as earl of Kent.

Another domestic event gave the king much more concern, in the year 1082. It was the death of Matilda, his consort, for whom he had ever preserved the most sincere friendship. Three years afterwards, he passed into Normandy with Edgar Atheling, to whom he willingly permitted to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He was detained on the continent by a misunderstanding which broke out between him and the king of France, Philip I. William's displeasure was exasperated by the account he received of some railleries which that monarch had thrown out against him. William, who was become corpulent, had been detained in bed by sickness, upon which Philip was heard to express his surprise, that his brother of England should be so long in being delivered of his big belly. The king sent him word, that he should soon be up, and would, at his churching, present so many lights at Notre Dame, as would, perhaps, give little pleasure to the king of France. Immediately on his recovery, he led an army into l'Isle de France, and laid every thing waste with fire and sword. He took the town of Mantes, which he reduced to ashes. But his horse starting aside of a

sudden, he bruised so severely his belly on the pommel of the saddle, that apprehending the consequences, he ordered himself to be carried in a litter to the monastery at St. Gervais at Rouen. Finding his illness increase, and being sensible of the approach of death, he began to turn his eyes to a future state, and was now struck with remorse for all his cruelties and depredations. He endeavoured to atone for them by large presents to churches and monasteries, and by giving liberty to many prisoners whom he unjustly detained. He then bequeathed Normandy and le Maine to his eldest son Robert. He wrote to Lanfranc, desiring him to crown William, king of England, and left to Henry the possessions of his mother Matilda; but foretold that he would one day surpass both his brothers in power and opulence. He expired on the 9th of September, 1087, in the sixty-third year of his age, in the 21st of his reign over England, and in the 54th of that over Normandy.

William the Conqueror was endowed with wonderful talents, courage, and vigour of mind. His bold and enterprising spirit was always guided by prudence; as his unbounded ambition by the dictates of sound policy; he is, however, to be considered rather as an extraordinary man than as a great man, as there is no real greatness where there is no virtue; and unfortunately for William's glory, there is not one of his actions which may be properly called virtuous, when the whole of them show him as a cruel, revengeful, rapacious tyrant, for whom all means criminal or not were indifferent, provided they answered his purposes. He was so destitute of principles, so heart-hardened against all feelings of justice and humanity, that he was equally ostentatious in his clemency and in his severity, never preferring one to the other, but according to his interests. He has been praised for his

liberalities to his followers, but were they not his only support? and could he expect to keep them without considerable rewards? besides, what did those liberalities cost him? had he not, as the universal proprietor of England, a whole kingdom to bestow? If after having conquered that country, and insured its submission by a sufficient military force always in readiness, he had tried to conciliate by justice and gentleness the minds of the peaceable inhabitants which form everywhere the majority; his memory, celebrated only for his valour, energy, and military achievements, would still be blessed as that of a great and good monarch. As to the pretended good fortune to which the greatest part of his successes are commonly attributed, it was certainly a lucky chance for him to find in the right heir to the throne he wanted to usurp, a prince of such incapacity as was Edgar Atheling, whose feeble hands were much more fit to wear a pilgrim's staff than a sceptre; but it does not follow that his successes in all circumstances may be with some justice ascribed to fortune, as on the contrary it is a constant fact, that any man very enterprising, and succeeding in all his enterprises must absolutely be a man of great abilities, and such was undoubtedly William the Conqueror. He introduced in England the feudal law, such as it existed in Normandy; and as it became the chief foundation both of the political government and of the jurisprudence established in this country, it is necessary to have a just idea of this law to explain the state of this kingdom, and of all others in Europe, which were governed by similar institutions.

The German governments, which may be considered as the cradle of the feudal system, being rather a confederacy of independent warriors than a civil subjection, derived their principal force from many inferior and voluntary associations,

which individuals formed under a particular head or chieftain. The glory and power of the chief consisted in the number, the bravery, and the zealous attachment of his retainers, whose duty required that they should accompany him in all wars and dangers, that they should fight and perish by his side. The prince himself was nothing but a great chieftain, chosen among the rest on account of his superior valour and abilities; and he derived his power from the voluntary association or attachment of the other chieftains.

When an association, actuated by these principles, subdued a large territory, they assigned a share for supporting the dignity of their prince and government; they distributed other parts under the title of *fief*, to the chiefs who were the retainers of the prince. These made new partitions of their portion among their own retainers, and these second partitions formed what was called *mesne fee* or *arriere fief*.

The express condition of all these grants, which were first considered as a military pay, was, that they might be resumed at pleasure, and that the possessor so long as he enjoyed them, should still remain in readiness to take the field as soon as called by the chieftain for the defence of the association.

The kingdoms of Europe were universally divided into baronies, and these into inferior fiefs, which were likewise subdivided into *mesne fees* or *arriere fiefs*. Thus the vast fabric of feudal subordination became solid and comprehensive. It formed every where an essential part of the political constitution, and the barons who followed the fortunes of William the Conqueror were so accustomed to it, that they could scarcely form an idea of any other species of civil government. According to the principles of the feudal law in England, the king was the supreme lord of the landed property; all possessors

who enjoyed the fruits or revenue of any part of it, held them either mediately or immediately of him. The land was considered as a species of *benefice*, which was the original conception of a feudal property, and the vassal owed in return for it stated services to his baron, as the baron himself did for his land to the crown. The vassal was obliged to defend his baron in war, as the baron, at the head of his vassals was bound to fight in defence of the king and kingdom. The king could, at his pleasure, command the attendance of his barons and their vassals, in which consisted all the military force of the kingdom; and could employ them during forty days either in resisting a foreign enemy or reducing his rebellious subjects.

Besides these military services which were casual, there were others imposed of a civil nature which were more habitual and durable. The king, when he found it necessary for the interest of the state to demand any service of his barons or his chief tenants, beyond what was due by their tenures, was obliged to assemble them in order to obtain their consent, and when it was necessary to determine any controversy which might arise among the barons themselves, the question was discussed in their presence, and decided according to their consent or advice. In these two circumstances of *consent* and *advice* consisted chiefly the services of the ancient barons, and this implied all the essential elements of government.

The case was the same with the barons in their courts as with the king in the great council, or supreme council which assumed the denomination of *parliament* in the year 1222, under the reign of Henry III. The archbishops, bishops, and most considerable abbots were as well as the barons constituent members of this council, as having possessed that privilege through the whole Saxon

period from the establishment of christianity, and by their right of baronage as holding of the king *in capite* by military service. The commons were no part of the great council, till some ages after the conquest, and the immediate tenants of the crown composed that supreme and legislative assembly. The vassals of a baron were by their tenure immediately dependent on him, owed attendance at his court, and paid all their duty to the king through that dependance which their lord was obliged by his tenure to acknowledge to his sovereign and superior. Their land being a part of the barony was represented in parliament by the baron himself, who was supported according to the fictions of the feudal law, to possess the direct property of it. As to the boroughs, it appears from Domesday, that at the time of the conquest, they were scarcely more than villages inhabited by men of a station little better than serviles, forming no community, and being really nothing but a small number of low dependent tradesmen, incapable of being represented in the states of the kingdom. The number of slaves was materially increased in England by the conquest, as all the prisoners taken at the battle of Hastings, or in some of the subsequent revolts, were reduced to that condition.

**WILLIAM RUFUS**, second King from the Conquest.

*Ann. 1087 to 1089.*

[Born in 1060, crowned September 27, 1088; killed accidentally as he was hunting in the new forest, August 1100, aged 40; buried at Winton. He never was married.]

William, surnamed Rufus, from the colour of his hair, having left Normandy, while the king

was breathing his last, arrives in England before the news of his father's death, secures the fortresses of Dover, Pevensey, and Hastings, and gets possession of the royal treasure at Winchester, amounting to sixty thousand pounds. The primate Lanfranc, having assembled some bishops and some of the principal nobility, proceeds to the ceremony of crowning the new king. At the same time, his eldest brother Robert acknowledged successor to Normandy, takes peaceable possession of that duchy.

Odo, the late king's brother, carries on a powerful conspiracy against William in favour of Robert, who promises a speedy assistance. William, by promises of future good treatment, prevails upon the English to support his cause, and finding himself at the head of a numerous army, takes the field, drives away the conspirators every where, and reduces them to implore for mercy. He grants them their lives, but confiscates all their estates and banishes them the kingdom.

The death of Lanfranc, who retained great influence over William, gives a full career to his tyrannical temper. He orders a new survey of all the lands and property of the kingdom, and wherever he finds them under valued in the Domesday-book, he raises the proportion of taxes accordingly. He seizes the vacant bishoprics, and openly puts to sale such abbeys as he thinks proper. He delays the appointing of successors to those dignities, to longer enjoy their revenues, and bestows some of the church lands in property to his captains and favourites.

*Ann. 1090 to 1096.*

William resolves to invade Normandy, and appears on its shores at the head of a numerous

army; but the nobility brought on an accommodation, in which it was stipulated, that in case either of the brothers should die without issue, the survivor should inherit all his dominions. Henry, the other brother, having remonstrated in vain against this act of injustice, took arms, but was soon obliged to surrender, and being even despoiled of the small patrimony that was left him, wandered about for some years, and was reduced to great poverty.

To this Norman war succeeded hostilities of no longer duration with Scotland; but two years after, Malcolm invaded England, and besieged Alnwick-castle, where he was surprised and slain.

In 1093, a new rupture takes place between William and Robert, in which William finds means to encroach still further upon his brother's possessions, and is prevented from pushing his advantages by an incursion of the Welch, which obliges him to return to England. They are quickly repelled, and find refuge in their mountains. A conspiracy of the Norman barons in England threatens more serious consequences, but their schemes are detected and frustrated. Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, who was at the head of this plot, was thrown into prison, where he died after thirty years confinement. The count d'Eu denied having had any participation in the conspiracy, and to prove his innocence, fought, in the presence of the court at Windsor, a duel with Geoffrey Barnard, his accuser, and, being worsted in the combat, was condemned to be castrated and to have his eyes put out.

The noise of these petty wars and unsuccessful treasons was quite sunk in the general tumult of that pious frenzy, which, under the name of Crusades, pervaded all the states of Europe. A poor hermit, whose name was Peter, a native of Amiens in Picardy, a man of great zeal, courage, and de-



votion, having made a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, was deeply affected with the instances of oppression under which the eastern christians laboured, and conceived the seemingly impracticable project of leading in Asia, from the farthest extremities of the west, armies sufficient to rescue the Holy Land from the hands of the infidels. He proposed his plan to Pope Urban II. who, though approving it, would not interpose his authority, till he saw a greater probability of success. Peter, therefore, warmed with the most ardent enthusiasm, travelled from court to court bare-headed and bare-footed, preaching as he went the recovery of the Holy Land, and inflaming the zeal of every rank of people! The minds being thus prepared, two councils were successively summoned, one at Placentia, the other at Clermont in Auvergne. Both were attended by immense multitudes of ecclesiastics and seculars; and the last particularly by the greatest prelates and nobles; and by many princes; when the Pope and the hermit renewed their exhortations, the whole assembly, as if impelled by an immediate inspiration, exclaimed with one voice, *It is the will of God! it is the will of God!* From that time, men of all ranks fled to arms with the utmost alacrity, and bore the sign of the cross upon their right shoulder, as a mark of their being enlisted for the holy expedition.

*Ann. 1097, 1098, 1099.*

Among the princes impelled by this general spirit of enterprise, one of the foremost was Robert duke of Normandy; but being unprovided with money, he offered to mortgage his dukedom to his eldest brother for the sum of ten thousand marks, which was readily procured by William. Thus was Normandy once more united to England.

But though this acquisition considerably increased the extent of the king's dominions, it added but little to his real power, as his new subjects were more disposed to dispute than to obey his commands. Many were the revolts which he was obliged to quell; and no sooner was one conspiracy suppressed than another arose.

In the midst of these troubles, William found himself involved in a disagreeable quarrel with Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, who though the king, at his father's example, had prohibited his subjects from recognizing any Pope whom he had not previously approved, had already acknowledged the Pope Urban. A synod was summoned for deposing the prelate, but the members of it declared that none but the Pope could inflict a censure on their primate. The resentments increasing on both sides, and Anselm finding it dangerous to remain in the kingdom, desired permission to retire to Rome. The king readily consented to it, but confiscated all his temporalities, and actually kept possession of them during his life, little regarding the sentence of excommunication with which he was menaced by Pope Urban, who was then too earnestly engaged in the crusade to attend to any other business than the successes of the christian armies, who, after having defeated Soliman in two great battles, and rendered themselves masters of the Nile and Alexandria, took Jerusalem by assault on the 5th of July 1099, after a siege of five weeks, and established there Godfrey of Bouillon, under the title of king of Jerusalem.

*Ann. 1100.*

William entered into a negociation with the

count of Guyenne for a mortgage, which would have added these two fine provinces to his dominions, when an accident put an end to all his ambitious projects. One day when he was hunting in the new forest, Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, who accompanied him, let fly an arrow, which, glancing from a tree, struck the king to the heart. He dropt dead instantaneously, while the innocent author of his death, terrified with the accident, hastened to the sea shore, embarked for France, and joined the crusade that was setting out for Jerusalem. William's body being found by some countrymen passing through the new forest, was laid across a horse and carried to Winchester, where it was next day buried without any ceremony or marks of respect.

This prince cannot be reproached with the same cruelty as his father; but he had almost all his other vices, and scarcely any of his abilities. His fate was no more lamented than it deserved. He died on the 2d of August 1100, in the thirteenth year of his reign and about the fortieth of his age. The monuments which remain of his reign, are the tower, Westminster-hall, and London bridge. The most laudable of his foreign enterprises was the sending of Edgar Atheling, three years before his death, into Scotland with a small army, to restore prince Edgar the true heir of that kingdom, as being the son of Malcolm and of Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, which enterprise proved successful.

In the eleventh year of this reign, Magnus, king of Norway, made a descent on the Isle of Anglesea, but was repulsed by Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury. This was the last attempt made by the northern nations upon England.

William Rufus was never married. His succes-

sion of course devolved upon Robert, his elder brother; but he was then absent, and could not therefore assert his rights.

**HENRY I.** surnamed **BEAUCLERK**, third King from the Conquest.

*Ann. 1100 to 1107.*

[Born in 1067; crowned August 5, 1100; married Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III. king of Scots, by the sister of Edgar Atheling, thus becoming a relation to the Saxon family 1100; died Dec. 1, 1135, aged 68; was buried at Reading, Berks.]

Henry, soon informed of the death of his brother, flies to Winchester, takes possession of the royal treasure, notwithstanding the opposition of William de Breteuil, keeper of it; and hastens to London, where he is proclaimed king, and instantly proceeds to the exercises of the royal dignity. Then considering that his usurped title could only find security in the affection of his subjects, he immediately makes several concessions in their favour. He grants them a charter, restoring the churches to the possession of all their immunities, abolishing the excessive fines which were exacted from heirs, granting his barons and military tenants the power of bequeathing their money by will, remitting all debts due to the crown, offering a pardon for all former offences, and promising to confirm and observe all the laws of Edward the Confessor. In the mean time, he expels from court all the ministers of his brother's debauchery and arbitrary power, and recalls to his former dignity and favour, Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, who had been banished during the last reign. To give greater

authenticity to his concessions, Henry lodged a copy of his charter in some abbey of each county; yet it is certain, that after the present purpose was served, he never once thought of observing one single article of it; and the whole fell so much into neglect, that in the following century, when the barons, who had heard an obscure tradition of it, desired to make it the model of the great charter which they exacted from king John, they could with difficulty find one copy in the kingdom.

One thing only remained to consolidate Henry's claims by still further ingratiating him with the people. The English, still remembering their Saxon monarchs with gratitude, beheld them with regret excluded the throne. Matilda, one of the descendants of that favourite line, having declined all pretensions to royalty, was bred up in a convent, and had actually taken the veil. Upon her, Henry first fixed his eyes as a proper consort, by whose means the long breach between the Saxon and Norman interest would be finally united. The only remaining obstacle was her being a nun, but it was readily removed by a council; and Matilda being pronounced free from her vows, the nuptials were celebrated with great solemnity.

At this unfavourable juncture, Robert returned from abroad, and after taking possession of the duchy of Normandy, laid his claim to the crown of England, resolved to dispute Henry's pretensions to the last, and landed with his forces at Portsmouth. But when the two armies came in sight, proposals for an accommodation were made and agreed to; it was stipulated, that Robert should resign his pretensions to England, and receive as a compensation an annual pension of three thousand marks; that if either of the princes died without issue, the other should succeed to his dominions; that the adherents of each should be pardoned and restored to their

possessions; and that neither Robert nor Henry should thenceforth encourage, receive, or protect the enemies of the other.

Henry executed the treaty, but soon after showed his resolution to punish all the heads of the party which had lately opposed him. Accordingly, the earl of Shrewsbury, Arnulf Montgoimery, Roger earl of Lancaster, Robert de Pontefract, Robert de Mallet, William de Warren, and the earl of Cornwall were indicted on different charges, and banished the kingdom, with confiscation of their estates.

Robert being informed of this breach of treaty, ventured to come into England to complain of it; but met with so bad a reception, that finding his own liberty to be in danger, he was glad to purchase his escape by resigning his pension.

From that period Robert abandoned himself to indolence and to the most dissolute pleasures. He was so remiss both in the care of his treasure and the exercises of his government, that his servants pillaged his money with impunity, and practised every species of extortion upon his defenceless subjects; he is even described as lying whole days in bed for want of clothes. The barons gave reins to their unbounded rapine upon their vassals and inveterate animosities against each other. In short, Normandy was become, under that amiable but too benign prince, a scene of violence and devastation. The Normans observing the regular government which Henry had established in England, applied to him that he might use his authority for the suppression of these disorders, and thereby opened to him the secret way of forwarding his ambitious views upon Normandy. He accordingly collected a powerful army, and made two campaigns in that duchy in the year 1105 and 1106. In the first, he rendered himself master of the towers of Bayeux and Caen. The last ended in a dreadful battle, in

which the unfortunate Robert was completely defeated and taken prisoner, with near ten thousand of his men, and all the considerable barons who had adhered to his cause.

This victory was followed by the total reduction of Normandy, and by the confinement of prince Robert in the castle of Cardiff in Glamorganshire, for the remainder of his life, which was no less than 28 years.

In the year 1106, Joffred, abbot of Croyland, intending to re-build the church of his monastery, obtained from the archbishop of Canterbury and York, a bull, dispensing with the third part of all penances for sin those who contributed any thing towards the building of that church. This bull was directed not only to the king and people of England, but to all true believers in Christ, rich and poor in all christian kingdoms. Joffred sent accordingly two of his most eloquent monks in each of these states to proclaim the bull. After having derived immense sums from it, he appointed a day for the great ceremony of laying the foundation, which he contrived to make a very effectual means of raising the super-structure. On the long expected day, a great multitude of earls, barons, and knights, with their ladies and families, of abbots, priors, and persons of all ranks, arrived at Croyland to assist in this ceremony. Each of them laid a stone in the foundation, and deposited upon it a sum of money, a grant of lands, tithes, or patronages, or a promise of stone, lime, wood, labour, or carriages for building the church. After this, the abbot entertained at dinner the whole company, amounting to five thousand.

*Ann.* 1107, 1108, 1109.

Reform of abuses, which had crept among the courtiers, who, being allowed by the feudal law to

live upon the king's tenants whenever he travelled, committed on that pretence all manner of ravages with impunity. The remedy to this disorder was an edict, punishing with the loss of sight all those who under those pretences should commit such depredations.

Adjustment of long and violent controversies between the king and the primate of Canterbury, supported by Pope Paschal II. concerning ecclesiastical investitures. The king consents to resign his right of granting those investitures, but is allowed to receive homage from his bishops for all their temporal properties and privileges.

The marriage of priests is prohibited, as well as laymen within the seventh degree of affinity.

The laity are also prohibited from wearing long hair, a mode of dress to which the clergy showed the utmost aversion.

*Ann. 1110 to 1119.*

Prince William, the only son of Robert, was only six years old when he fell into the hands of the king, his uncle, at the surrender of Falaise. He was then committed to the care of Helie de St. Saen, a man of probity and honour, who had married Robert's natural daughter. The birth-right of the young prince alarmed Henry, whose principal concern was to prevent him from succeeding to the crown in prejudice of his own son. But Helie de St. Saen finding that the king desired to recover possession of his pupil's person, he carried him to the court of Fulk, count of Anjou, who gave him protection. The young William soon discovered virtues becoming his birth, and wandering through different courts of Europe, excited the friendly compassion of many princes, and raised a general



indignation against his uncle, who had so unjustly bereaved him of his inheritance. The Pope was solicited to take his part by the king of France, Lewis le Gros, who, failing in this, endeavoured to gain by force of arms what his negotiations could not obtain. The war which ensued among these princes was attended with no memorable event.

*Ann. 1119.*

Lewis le Gros applies again to the spiritual power in favour of young William, and presents him to the general council then assembled at Rheims, by Pope Calixtus, requesting the assistance of the church for re-instating the prince in his dominions, and representing the enormity of detaining in prison so brave a prince as Robert, one of the most eminent champions of the cross, who by that very quality was placed under the immediate protection of the Holy See.

Henry sends presents to the Pope and the English bishops to the council, where the complaints of the Norman prince were thenceforth heard with great coldness.

The king being informed that Lewis had laid a scheme for surprising Noyon, hastens to the relief of the place, and suddenly attacks the French at Brenneville. He is wounded in the head by a Norman officer of the name of Crispin, but rather animated than discouraged at the blow, he puts the French to a total route. An accommodation takes place between the two kings, in which the interests of young William are entirely neglected.

*Ann. 1120 to 1135.*

The king assembles the states of the kingdom, to have his son William, now eighteen years old,

recognized as his successor, and carries him over to Normandy, that he might receive the homage of the barons of that duchy. The king, on his return, set sail from Barfleur; the prince was detained by some accident: his sailors and their captain having spent the interval in drinking, were so confused, that they drove the ship on a rock, where she immediately foundered. Above one hundred and forty young noblemen of the principal families of England and Normandy, perished with the prince on this occasion. When certain intelligence of the catastrophe was brought to the king, he fainted away, nor ever afterwards recovered his wonted cheerfulness.

The late prince William, who had married a daughter of Fulk, count of Anjou, having left no issue, and the connections of the king with the count being thus broken off, Fulk joined the party of William, the son of duke Robert, gave him his daughter in marriage, and aided him in raising disturbances in Normandy.

The king who was a widower, having no other legitimate issue but his daughter Matilda, married to the emperor Henry V. was induced to marry Adelais, daughter of Godfrey duke of Lorraine; but she brought him no children; therefore the son of duke Robert, supported by his father-in-law, by the king of France, and by many other princes, was in a situation more favorable than ever to hope for recovering his patrimonial dominions, and even the immediate possession of the crown at the death of Henry. But he was still living, and found the means of drawing off the count of Anjou, by forming anew with him a nearer connection than the former. The emperor, his son-in-law, dying without issue, he bestowed his daughter on Geoffrey Plantagenet, the eldest son of Fulk, and endeavoured to insure her succession by having her

recognized heir to all his dominions, and obliging the barons both of England and Normandy to swear fealty to her. Some time after, that princess was delivered of a son, who received the name of Henry.

In the mean time, Charles earl of Flanders being assassinated, Lewis le Gros put immediately the young prince William in possession of that country, but his enjoying it was of short duration. He was killed in a skirmish with the Landgrave of Alsace, his competitor for Flanders.

The king was much pleased in the company of his daughter, who bore successively two other sons, and he seemed determined to pass with her the remainder of his days in Normandy, when an incursion of the Welch obliged him to think of returning to England. He was preparing for the journey, when he was seized with a sudden illness at St. Denis le Forment, from eating too plentifully of lampreys, a dish he was particularly fond of. He died on the 1st of December 1135, in the 68th year of his age, and the 35th of his reign.

This wise and valiant prince ranks among the most accomplished that have filled the English throne. His eminent qualities and accomplishments were quite adequate to the importance and dignity of his station. His character would be as loved as admired, and his ambition, though very high, might be deemed excusable, had it not been rendered odious for ever by his unjust and inhuman conduct towards his brother, and above all, towards his nephew. Henry was surnamed *Beau-clerc*, or the Scholar, on account of his great progress in literature. The Pope Calixtus confessed, after a conference he had with him, that of all men whom he had ever yet been acquainted with, he was the most eloquent and persuasive.

He was much addicted to women and to hunt-

ing, and is accused of having augmented the forests appropriated for that diversion. Stealing was first made a capital offence in this reign, and false coining was punished with death or mutilation.

Henry, on his accession, granted a charter to London, by which the city was empowered to keep the farm of Middlesex at three hundred pounds a year, to elect its own sheriff and justiciary, and to hold pleas of the crown; and it was exempted from scot, danegelt, trials by combat, and lodging the king's retinue. These, with a confirmation of the privileges of their court of hustings, wardmotes, and common-halls, and the liberty of hunting in Middlesex and Surry, are the chief articles of this charter.

STEPHEN, fourth King from the Conquest.

*Ann. 1135 to 1140.*

[Third son of Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, by Stephen, earl of Blois; was born in 1105; crowned December 1135; died October 25, 1154; aged 49 years; was buried at Feversham.]

Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, had been married to the count of Blois, and had brought him several sons; among whom Stephen and Henry, the two youngest, had been invited over to England by the late king, and had received from him great honours, riches, and preferment. Henry was created abbot of Glastonbury and bishop of Winchester; and Stephen had been married to the daughter of Eustace, count of Boulogne, who brought him, besides that feudal sovereignty in France, an immense property in England, which

had been conferred on her father by William the Conqueror. Besides, the late king intending to strengthen the interest of his family by the aggrandisement of Stephen, had conferred on him the great estates forfeited by Robert Mallet in England, and by the count of Mortaigne in Normandy. Stephen, in return professed great attachment to his uncle. Meanwhile, he continued to cultivate the friendship of the English nation. By his bravery and activity, he acquired the esteem of the barons; by his generosity and affability, the affections of the people, particularly the Londoners. No sooner had his uncle breathed his last, than giving full reins to his ambition, and conscious of his power and influence, he hastened from Normandy, and though the citizens of Dover and Canterbury, apprized of his purpose, shut their gates against him, he stopped not till he arrived at London, where some of the lower ranks, instigated by his emissaries, immediately saluted him king. His next step was to acquire the good will of the clergy, and to put himself in possession of the throne by having the ceremony of his coronation speedily performed. His brother, the bishop of Winchester, having gained the bishop of Salisbury, applied in conjunction with that prelate to the archbishop of Canterbury, and required him to give the royal unction to Stephen. As he had sworn fealty to Matilda, he at first refused to perform the ceremony, but his opposition was soon overcome by the steward of the household, Hugh Bigod, making oath before the primate, that the late king on his death-bed, had shown a dissatisfaction with his daughter Matilda, and had expressed his intention of leaving Stephen heir to all his dominions. Very few barons attended the coronation, which was no sooner performed, than Stephen, without any shadow of hereditary title, or consent of the nobi-

lity of people, was allowed to proceed to the exercise of sovereign authority.

Stephen, that he might consolidate his usurpation, passed a charter, in which he promised to the clergy, that he would speedily fill all vacant benefices, and would never levy the rents of any of them during the vacancy; to the nobility, that he would reduce the royal forests to their ancient boundaries, and correct all encroachments; and to the people, that he would remit the tax of danegelt, and restore the laws of king Edward. He then seized the late king's treasure at Winchester, with which he insured the compliance of the principal clergy and nobility, and kept in his pay great numbers of foreign soldiers, particularly from Brittany and Flanders, to guard his throne by the terror of the sword.

He procured likewise a bull from Rome, which ratified his title. Lewis the Younger, the reigning king of France, accepted the homage of Eustace, Stephen's eldest son, for the duchy of Normandy; and, the more to corroborate his connexions with that family, he betrothed his sister Constantia to the young prince.

In the mean time, the English barons and the clergy, in return for their submission, required the right of fortifying their castles and putting themselves in a posture of defence, nor could the king refuse his consent to such exorbitant demands. Thus in a short time, all England was filled with these independent fortresses, which the noblemen garrisoned with their own vassals or with mercenary bravoës hired from the continent. Unbounded rapine was exercised upon the people for the maintenance of those troops; the private animosities of the nobility produced wars in every quarter, and the whole country presented a scene of petty tyranny and hostile preparations.... The mercenary soldiers, who chiefly supported the king's

authority, having exhausted his treasure, subsisted by depredation, and every place was filled with the best grounded complaints against government.

In these circumstances, Matilda, who, upon the death of the late king, was unable to oppose the usurpation of Stephen, landed in England with a resolution to dispossess him and re-gain the crown. She was attended by Robert of Gloucester, a natural son of the late king, who had from the beginning opposed the accession of Stephen, and waited only a fit opportunity to begin an insurrection. Having settled with his friends the plan of it, he retired to the continent, and thence sent a defiance to the king, and solemnly refused his allegiance. Stephen being informed that Matilda had taken refuge at Arundel, flew to besiege the castle. After the misery of numberless undecisive conflicts, a complete victory was gained by the forces of Matilda, and was soon followed by another which obliged Stephen to surrender himself prisoner. He was conducted to the duke of Gloucester, and though at first treated with respect, he was soon after on some suspicions thrown into prison and laid in irons.

*Ann. 1141 to 1147.*

The barons came in daily from all quarters, and did homage to Matilda. The bishop of Winchester himself enticed by the promise she made him upon oath, that he should be entire master of the administration, and dispose at his pleasure of all vacant bishoprics and abbeys, espoused her cause against his brother, led her in procession into his cathedral, and in the presence of many bishops and abbots, blessed her with the greatest solemnity, granted absolution to such as were obedient to her, and excommunicated such as were rebellious. Then Matilda, instead of assembling the states of the

kingdom, a measure which the constitution, had it been fixed or regarded, seemed necessarily to require, was contented to have her pretensions confirmed by a synod summoned for the purpose by the bishop of Winchester, who, after an eloquent speech, in which he much blamed the conduct of his brother, having invoked the divine assistance, he pronounced Matilda the only descendant of Henry, their late sovereign, queen of England. The whole assembly gave their assent to this declaration, and Matilda was immediately crowned. The only laymen summoned at this council were the Londoners; and even these were required not to give their opinion, but to submit to the decrees of the synod.

Matilda, besides the disadvantages of her sex, which weakened her influence over a martial people, was of a passionate imperious spirit, and had neither temper nor policy sufficient to carry her views into execution. She was resolved upon repressing the power of the nobles, and affected to treat them with a degree of disdain to which they had long been unaccustomed. The release of Stephen was petitioned by his queen, who offered, that on this condition he should renounce the crown and enter into a convent; the bishop of Winchester desired that his nephew might inherit Boulogne, and the other patrimonial estates of his father; the Londoners applied for the re-establishment of king Edward's laws: all these petitions were rejected in the most haughty and peremptory manner. The bishop of Winchester availing himself of the ill-humour excited by this conduct, secretly instigated the Londoners to revolt against Matilda, and to seize her person. Having had timely notice of this conspiracy, she fled to Winchester, where being besieged by the bishop's party and pressed by famine, she was obliged to escape. Thus a sudden



revolution once more took place ; Matilda was deposed and obliged to take refuge at Oxford. Stephen was again recognized as king, and taken from his dungeon to be placed on the throne. The civil war was again kindled with greater fury than ever. Earl Robert of Gloucester went over to Normandy, which, during Stephen's captivity, had submitted to the count of Anjou, Geoffrey Plantagenet, and persuaded him to allow his eldest son Henry, a young prince of great hopes, to take a journey into England. His presence, however, produced nothing decisive. Stephen took Oxford after a long siege, and was defeated by Robert of Gloucester at Wilton. Matilda, harassed with a variety of good and bad fortune, and alarmed with continual dangers to her person and family, at last retired into Normandy, whither she had already sent her son. The death of Robert of Gloucester happened nearly at the same time, and gave a dreadful blow to her interests, as he was the soul of her party.

*Ann. 1147 to 1153.*

Stephen having resumed, in some measure, his former power, and finding that the castles built by the noblemen of his own party were little less dangerous than those which remained in the hands of the enemy, endeavoured to extort from them those fortresses ; which attempt alienated from him the affections of many of them. In the mean time the court of Rome, which his brother had brought over to his side, had lately joined the other party. The bishop of Winchester was deprived by Pope Eugenius III. of the legantine commission which was conferred on the archbishop of Canterbury ; and Stephen having refused to send over to the general council summoned at Rheims, the five English bishops nominated by Eugenius to represent

that church, which had been thus deprived of electing as usual its own deputies, the Pope put all Stephen's party under an interdict, which was not removed until Stephen consented to make proper submission to the See of Rome.

The tacit cessation of hostilities which took place in England, through the weakness of both sides rather than any decrease of mutual animosity, invited many of the nobility to enlist themselves in a second crusade, which, with amazing success, was now preached by St. Bernard, on account of the town of Edessa being taken by Noradiné, who threatened to invade all the conquests of the Christians in the Holy Land. Lewis the Young, king of France, persuaded by St. Bernard, that he could not expiate his offence but by acting personally a conspicuous part in the enterprise, led thither an army of eighty thousand men, and was soon followed by the emperor of Germany, Conrad, at the head of a very considerable army; but they were both defeated, the former by the Saracens, and the latter by the treachery of the Greeks, and the siege they had laid before Damascus was raised.

In the mean time prince Henry, the son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, reached his sixteenth year, the age required in those days for young noblemen to receive the honours of knighthood before they were permitted to carry arms, and he wished to receive his admission from his great uncle David, king of Scotland. He landed accordingly in England, with a great retinue. The ceremony was performed at Carlisle. He remained some time with the king of Scotland, made incursions into England, and by his dexterity, his valour, and prudent conduct, roused the hopes of his party. Soon after his return to Normandy, he was, by his mother's consent, invested with that duchy, and the

dominions of his father, who happened to die at that period. He then married Eleanor, the daughter and heir of William duke of Guienne and count of Poitou, without being discouraged either by the inequality of years or by the report of her gallantries, though they had determined Lewis the Young, king of France, with whom she had been married sixteen years, to procure divorce from her. Henry espousing her six weeks after her divorce, got possession of the rich and extensive territories of Guienne and Poitou. The prospect of his rising fortune had such an effect in England, that Stephen having resolved to have his son anointed as his successor, the archbishop of Canterbury refused compliance, and made his escape to the continent to avoid the resentment of Stephen. Henry informed of it, and of the favourable dispositions of the majority of the people, made an invasion on England, took the town of Malmsbury, received the submissions of Reading, and many other places, and proceeded thence to throw succours into Wallingford, which the king had advanced with a superior army to besiege. A decisive action was expected every day, when a negociation was set on foot by the interposition of William earl of Arundel, and many other principal men of both sides, for terminating the contest without any more bloodshed. It was, therefore, agreed by all parties, that Stephen should reign during his life, and that justice should be administered in his name; that on his death, Henry should succeed to the throne, and William, Stephen's son, should inherit Boulogne, and his patrimonial estates. After all the barons had sworn to this treaty, which filled the whole kingdom with joy, Henry returned to Normandy, and Stephen to the peaceable enjoyment of his throne. His reign, however, was soon terminated

by his death, which happened on the 25th of October 1154, about a year after the treaty, at Canterbury, where he was interred. ✓

There is no possibility of palliating the hypocrisy, ingratitude, and injustice which prepared or attended the usurpation that placed Stephen on the throne. It may be remarked, that he seemed to have exhausted all his abilities in planning and executing such a criminal scheme; and indeed the concessions he made, and the means he employed for consolidating it, were the worse calculated for this effect, as, by weakening the sovereign authority, they produced all the miseries which England suffered during the whole of his reign. He was, however, a prince of activity and courage to a great degree, and endowed with an affability which gained and secured him the people's affections, and though often betrayed by some of his party, he never gave way to cruelty or revenge.

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*General Observations on that Period.*

The Norman conquest, though less sanguinary than the two former ones, produced no less important changes in the state of England and in its constitution.

The Britons under the Roman yoke, had found in the mildness, wisdom, and justice of these conquerors of the world, the most advantageous compensation they could expect for their submission, as their civilization, prosperity, happiness, and all the enjoyments and comforts of life, had been the salutary results of the Roman conquest, while the total destruction of the British nation had been the undeniable and almost immediate consequences of the Saxon invasion; since all the Britons who were not

slain in battle were either reduced to slavery or compelled to desert their country for ever. As to the Norman conquest it was attended by a complete spoliation of all the proprietors of land; according to the laws of the feudal system, immediately introduced in England by William I. which constituted him the territorial lord as well as sovereign of all the lands in his dominions. Part of them he retained in his own possession, and granted the rest to certain of his subjects as benefices or fees for services to be performed by them, besides pecuniary supplies of different kinds, which constituted a part of the royal revenue. The services to be performed by the immediate vassals of the crown were chiefly these three: 1st. Homage and fealty. 2d. Personal attendance upon the king in his court at the three great Festivals of Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide, and in his parliament at other times when regularly called. 3d. Military services in the field or in the defence of castles, at their own expence for a certain number of days and with a certain number of men, according to the extent of their estates. The spiritual barons, as archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, were subjected to the same obligations. It appears from the famous doomsday-book made at that period, that the whole kingdom contained sixty thousand two hundred and fifteen knight's fees, of which twenty-eight thousand one hundred and fifteen belonged to the church.

As William had among his followers many powerful barons, and even sovereign princes, he rewarded them by very liberal concessions of land. He granted to his sister's son the whole county of Chester, to Robert earl of Mortaigne, his uterine brother, nine hundred and seventy-three manors; four hundred and thirty-nine to Odo, bishop of Bayeux, his second brother; four hundred and

forty-two to Allen, earl of Brittany ; two hundred and ninety-eight to William de Warrenne ; and to all his other chieftains, according to the different degrees of their power, their services, and their favour. The barons who received these lands, imitated, in the disposal of them by infeodation, the example of the sovereign, and imposed on their vassals the same charges and service imposed upon themselves.

As the king was the chief magistrate of the kingdom, he had a supreme court, whose jurisdiction was universal. It was divided into several chambers. A certain number of the king's justices, the best informed in the laws of the land, sat in each of these chambers to take cognizance of those matters with which they were best acquainted. One of these chambers was called the exchequer, as the supreme ducal court of Normandy, (from a chequered cloth which covered the table) : it was held by the high treasurer and certain barons, who regulated all things respecting the revenues of the crown, which according to the accounts of the cotemporary historians quoted by Dr. Henry, (*Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. vi. p. 41 and 42,) amounted to the incredible sum of one thousand and sixty-one pounds ten shillings and three halfpence per day, which, without reckoning the fraction, was equal to fifteen thousand nine hundred and fifteen pounds of the present money per day, and to five millions eight hundred and eight thousand nine hundred and seventy-five pounds per annum.

The great and various powers of this supreme court were all ministerial and executive, and did not extend to making new laws or imposing taxes. These two most important branches of government belonged to another assembly, called *common council* or *great council of the kingdom*, and sometimes, though very seldom at that period, *parliament*. The

constituent members of this great council or parliament, were all the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, who held each an entire barony immediately of the king *in capite*, and many others who held smaller portions of land, as one or more knight's fees, immediately of the king by the same honourable tenure as the barons, and were commonly called *lesser barons* or *free military tenants of the crown*. Among the many proofs of the truth of this statement, the 14th article of Magna Charta is one of the most decisive. Some historians of this period speak of great multitudes of people, both of the clergy and laity, who were present or standing by in some of these councils; but as it is said no where, that they were members of it, it may be concluded that these multitudes, commonly represented as *forcing themselves in, on all hands, confusedly and promiscuously*, were only spectators and by-standers, filling the galleries of these august assemblies.

The trial of civil and criminal causes by a jury of twelve men, had prevailed in very remote ages in Scandinavia, and thence was brought by Rollo and his followers into that part of France, which, after being invaded by them, was called Normandy. William I. who wished to see all the customs, and even the language of his native country, generally adopted in England, introduced this important form in the administration of justice. However, it was not established at once by any positive statute, but came into use by slow degrees; and in the beginning of this period, the trials by fire or water, or by judicial combat, were still employed in almost all causes; but in the reign of Henry II. after a law was made allowing the defendant to prove his innocence or his right, either by battle or by a jury of twelve men, called the *grand assize*, this last form became gradually more prevalent, and ob-

tained at length, a complete victory over the ordeals of all kinds.

The succession to the throne of England, after the death of Edward the Confessor, became so unsettled, that it seemed to be offered to the ambition of any bold and powerful invader, who, with the slightest pretence, dared aspire to it. To say nothing of Harold and William the Conqueror, the three successors of the latter, William, Henry, and Stephen may be considered as usurpers, as none of them could boast of a lawful title.

The spirit of chivalry which pervaded Europe about the beginning of this period, was introduced in England by the Normans, and gave a new turn to the education of the young nobility; as it enlivened their emulation to the highest degree, by the prospect of obtaining by their virtues and superior accomplishments the honours of knighthood, which were then an object of ambition to the greatest princes.

The noble and sprightly youth destined to chivalry, began their education in the capacity of pages or varlets, in the courts of princes, earls, or great barons, renowned by their prowess and gallant achievements. In this station they were instructed in the laws of courtesy and politeness, and in the first rudiments of chivalry and martial exercises, to fit them for shining in courts, at tournaments, and on the field of battle. After they had spent a competent time in the station of pages, they were advanced to the most honourable rank of esquires, and admitted into more familiar intercourse with the knights and ladies of the court, where they acquired all the accomplishments necessary to fit them for performing the offices and deserving the honours of knighthood, which they commonly received in the seventh or eighth year of their esquire-



ship, from the hands of the prince, earl, or great baron, at whose court they had received their education.

The qualifications and endowments requisite to form an accomplished knight, where the virtues of piety, chastity, modesty, courtesy, loyalty, liberality, sobriety, and, above all, an inviolable attachment to truth, and an invincible courage, the whole accompanied with a handsome shape, strength, and agility of body, great dexterity in dancing, wrestling, hunting, hawking, riding, tilting, and every other manly exercise. In the mean time he was bound by oath to serve his prince, to defend the church and clergy, to protect the persons and reputations of virtuous ladies, and to rescue the widows and orphans from oppression at the hazard of his life.

These knights, in their schools, sometimes contracted intimate friendships, and became what was then called *sworn brothers*, or *frères d'armes*. Their amity was cemented with vows of inviolable attachment to each other in peace and war, in prosperity and adversity; that they would share the same dangers, and divide equally all the advantages that might befall any of them. Could any institution be better calculated to infuse into the minds of the young nobility the purest and most dignified notions of honour and virtue, and inflame their ardour in acquiring the most valuable qualifications? Unfortunately, some of these knights, exalted by exaggerated ideas of glory, have been misled by the romantic ambition of acquiring it in the most perilous adventures, and their extravagant heroism has long been an object of ridicule, under the name of knight-errantry. However, it must be acknowledged, that this ancient chivalry, so pure in its principles and so honourable in its ends, could not

but do much good, prevent many evils, and was one of the happiest inventions of the ages in which it flourished.

The use of coats of arms distinguishing one great family from another, and descending from father to son, was introduced about this period with family surnames into England, as in the greatest part of Europe. "The estimation of arms" (says Camden) began in the expeditions to the Holy Land, and afterwards by little and little became hereditary, when it was accounted most honourable to carry those arms, which had been displayed in the Holy Land, in that holy service, against the professed enemies of Christianity." (Camden's Remains, p. 206.) Tournaments contributed not a little to render arms hereditary. A noble son, proud of the honours that had been gained by an illustrious father in those fields of fame, delighted to appear with the same devices on his shield at the like solemnities. However, it was only by slow degrees, and in the course of almost two centuries, that this custom became universal, even in noble families.

The tournaments so much connected with chivalry, and convened by sovereign princes, at their coronations, marriages, victories, or on other great occasions, do not seem to have prevailed very much in England, for a long time after the conquest, having been discouraged on account of the great danger and ruinous expence which attended them; they were even prohibited by the first Norman monarchs, and those who desired to acquire glory in such conflicts were obliged to go in foreign countries. However, the most magnificent that was ever celebrated, was proclaimed in the beginning of the next period by the king of England, Henry II. in the year 1174, and took place in the plains of Beaucaire, where no fewer than ten

thousand knights, besides ladies and other spectators, are said to have been present.

### APPENDIX.

*The most important Occurrences belonging to this Period are proved by the Testimony of the following Historians.*

Henry Huntingdon, l. 6. 7. 8.	p. 500 to 573. from p. 638 to
Hoveden's Annals, in the corresponding years.	697. from p. 724 to 788. from
W. Pictavin, from p. 198 to 211.	p. 805 to 886. 901. 919.
W. Malmesbury, l. 3. 4. 5. Hist. Novel. l. 1. 2.	Blackstone's Comment. b. 3. c. 4, 5.
Mathieu Paris, from p. 3 to 61.	Madox's Hist. Excheq. c. 3. 10. 12.
Eadmerus, from p. 6 to 94. Edit. London, 1623.	17.
Rymer Federa, l. 1. p. 14. and 90.	Willkin's Leges Saxon. passim.
Ducange's Glossar; on all feudal names.	Doomsday-book, passim.
Orderic Vital. p. 434, 435. from	Memoires de la Curie de St. Palaye, sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie.
	Les Mœurs des Français, par le Gendré.

### MEMORANDA

*Of some principal Events which occurred in the other States of Europe.*

A.D.

- 1074 The quarrels of the Holy See against the Christian princes about the ecclesiastical investitures, grow more and more violent. The fiery Gregory VII. being promoted to the papal chair, resolved not only to put the whole of the clergy out of the power of secular princes, but to submit all the kings and their dominions to the Holy See, and to establish at Rome, a perpetual synod for the general administration of the affairs of Europe. This plan is clearly unfolded in the famous *Dictatus*, or *Capitula XXVII. Papæ Gregory VII.* where are found all the maxims and principles he professed in his letters and bulls.
- 1075 Gregory VII. sends legates to the emperor of Germany, Henry IV. to reproach him, among other crimes, his insisting on his pretensions concerning the investi-

A. D.

tures, summoning him under pain of excommunication, to appear in person at the next synod to account for his conduct. Henry sends back the legates with disdain, and summons a national synod at Worms, composed of twenty-four bishops and many princes, where the Pope being accused by the cardinal Hugh le Blanc, of many atrocious crimes, is declared to have forfeited the Pontificate. This decree, adopted by the states and bishops of Italy in a national assembly, is published at Rome, with an injunction to the Pope from the emperor in his quality of patriciate, to resign the chair. In answer to it, Gregory proclaims an excommunication against the emperor, and his forfeiture of the sovereignty of Germany and Italy, as a rebel to St. Peter, releasing all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and prohibiting them all obedience to him, under pain of excommunication. In the mean time he sends circular letters to the principal states of Germany, and having succeeded in raising many of them against the emperor, he invites them to proceed to a new election, promising to confirm it by apostolic authority. Henry IV. being abandoned by his party, and compelled to yield to the fanaticism and superstitions of the times, is reduced to the humiliation of suing to the feet of the papal chair for his absolution, which was not granted him but conditionally, and by submitting himself to the shameful penance of standing bare-footed three whole days under the windows of Gregory, in the outer yard of Canossa's castle, without taking any food, and exposed to all the severity of the winter, as he was permitted to wear only a woollen tunick. The conditions imposed on him, were perhaps, still more degrading. He was obliged to promise, that all the complaints of the German states against him should be awarded by the Pope, that he should submit to all his decisions, even to that of his dethroning; that if he were allowed to keep the crown, he should not govern but agreeably to the intentions of the Pope; that until the award was issued, the German princes should be allowed to act free of all dependence and vassal service towards him, and that in case of his violating any of these conditions, he should consider himself as having forfeited all rights to the crown.

A. D.

A few years after, the same quarrel revived with the same circumstances and proceedings on both sides, and with increased animosity. During more than two centuries from that period, the history of Germany contains nothing more remarkable than the contests between the emperors and the Popes. From hence arose the factions of the Guelphs and Gibelines, of which the former was attached to the Pope, and the latter to the emperor. Both these names were first employed in the battle fought at Winsberg in Suabia, between Welf of Bavaria, and Leopold of Austria, in the year 1139, when Welf took his own name for his watchword, and Leopold that of Waibblingen, the name of a little town in the duchy of Wurtemberg, which had been the chief manor of the patrimonial dominions of the imperial house of Franconia. Both these words continued to denote the two parties, who had used them at Winsberg; they were soon after employed to mark the distinction of the royalists and malcontents, and the Italians adopted them to point out the antagonists and the supporters of the imperial authority. In this last acceptation, the names of Guelph and Gibelines have had a fatal celebrity as far as the middle of the fifteenth century.

1088 The sovereignty of Portugal first established in favour of Henry of Burgundy, on his marrying a daughter of Alphonso VI. king of Castile.

1094 Council of Clermont, in which the title of Pope was first given to the chief of the church, to the exclusion of the bishops who had previously assumed it; they still retained precedence over the cardinals.

1095 Institution of the templar knights, and of the hospitaler brotherhood of St. John of Jerusalem, who, in the times of crusades and pilgrimages to the Holy Land, admitted in their convent, assisted, and escorted the sickly pilgrims and the Christian soldiers who had missed their way. The templars were abolished in the year 1312. As to the hospitaler brothers after the last crusade, they settled in the Island of Rhodes, and when driven out of it by the Turks, the emperor Charles V. gave them the island of Malta, where their original statutes were still religiously observed, when the order was annihilated by the plundering of all its possessions,

## A. D.

which took place in France in the beginning of the revolution, and was shamefully imitated by the principal christian states of Europe.

It is more than probable, that the use of armorial ensigns originated from the crusades, when a peculiar outward mark was absolutely necessary to know these armed knights, who, cased in iron, could only be distinguished by the fur-lined coat-of-arms they wore over the curiass. From the different colours of these furs derived those employed in armorial ensigns, in which are found also many pieces belonging to the armour at that time.

At that same period, the nobility began to add to their christian name what has since been called *proper names*, which were taken from that of their manors, and became hereditary. Such was not the case with the surnames, which being always taken either from the profession, character, habitudes, and individual qualifications or defects in the mind as in the shape, could not be but personal.

Philip I. king of France, is excommunicated by Pope Urban II. and by the council of Clermont, for having married Bertrade de Montford, though she was the wife of Foulques Rechin, count of Anjou. He was excommunicated again in the year 1100, by the council of Poitiers.

- 1113 Beginning of the wars between France and England, which lasted until the middle of the fifteenth century.
- 1130 The kingdom of the two Sicilies first established by Roger, a Norman prince, who receives the first investiture of it from the Anti-pope Anaclet II. whom he had acknowledged, and afterwards from the Pope Innocent II.
- 1142 Death of the famous Abelard. His body was transported and buried at the monastery of the nuns of Paraclet, of which Eloisa, so well known by her misfortune was the abbess.
- 1148 Council of Rheims, held by the Pope Eugene III. in the king's absence. Its seventh canon prohibits the bishops, deacons, sub-deacons, monks, and nuns from marrying. The 12th prohibits all justlings, tournaments, &c. &c. under the penalty against the offenders, of being deprived of ecclesiastical burial.

*A List of the principal Learned or Illustrious Men  
who lived during that Period, pointing out the  
Year of their Death.*

1101 St. Bruno, the founder of the Carthusians.	1132 Sigonius, an historian. Muratori, an historian.
1115 Yves de Chartres, an historian.	1142 Abelard.
1089 Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lizieux, the first Physician of William the Conqueror.	1153 St. Bernard. 1163 Eloisa.

*A list of the Cotemporary Princes, with the date of  
their Death.*

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Alexis Com-</i>	<i>Kings of France.</i>	<i>David I.</i>
Gregory VII. 1083	nene 1118	Lewis VI. 1137	1143
Victor IH. 1087	John Com-	Lewis VII. 1180	Malcolm IV. 1155
Urban II. 1099	nene 1143		
Paschal II. 1117	Emanuel	<i>Kings of Spain.</i>	<i>Kings of Denmark.</i>
Gelase II. 1119	Comnene 1180	Alphonso VI. 1109	Herold VII. 1085
Calixtus II. 1124		Alphonso VII. 1137	S. Canut 1086
Honoré II. 1130	<i>Emperors of the West.</i>	Alphonso VIII. 1157	Olaüs III. 1086
Innocent II. 1143	Henry V. 1125		Eric II. 1102
Celestin II. 1144	Lothaire II. 1138	<i>Kings of Sweden.</i>	Nicolas 1135
Luce II. 1145	Conrad III.	Philip 1110	Eric III. 1138
Eugenius III. 1153	chief of the imperial	Ingo IV. 1129	Eric IV. 1147
Anastasius IV. 1155	house of Suabia 1152	Ragrald 1140	Suenon and Canut 1155
<i>Emperors of the East.</i>	Frederic I. 1152	Suetcher 1160	<i>Kings of Poland.</i>
Roman Dio- gene 1071	named	<i>Kings of Scotland.</i>	Ladislas 1102
Michael VII. deposed 1078	Barba- rousse 1190	Dunkan II. 1084	Boleslas III. 1139
Nicephore deposed 1080		Edgard 1095	Ladislas II. 1146
		Alexander 1114	Boleslas IV. 1174

*PERIOD THE FIFTH.*

FROM THE REIGN OF HENRY II. TO THAT OF HENRY IV.

HENRY II. fifth King from the Conquest.

*Ann. 1154 to 1157.*

[The first of the Plantagenets, grandson of Henry I. by his daughter Maude, born 1133, crowned with his queen Eleanor, at London, Dec. 10, 1154; crowned again at Lincoln 1158; and at Worcester 1159; died abroad with grief, July 6, 1189; aged 56.]

HENRY was engaged in the siege of a castle on the frontiers of Normandy, when he received intelligence of Stephen's death; he did not, however, desist from his enterprise till he had reduced the place. He then set out on his journey, and was received in England with general acclamations. The first acts of his government confirmed the high opinion entertained of his abilities. He dismissed immediately all those foreign mercenary soldiers who had committed so many disorders, and sent them abroad with their leader. He revoked all the grants made by his predecessor, even those which necessity had extorted from his mother, the princess Matilda. He repaired the coin which was extremely debased, and took proper measures against the return of such an abuse. He ordered the immediate demolition of all the newly-erected castles which were become receptacles of rapine,



and reduced to submission some barons who were inclined to oppose this salutary measure. The whole kingdom was soon brought to such a state of tranquillity, that Henry seeing that his presence was no longer necessary to preserve order at home, went abroad to oppose the attempts of his brother Geoffrey, who had made an incursion into Anjou and Maine, and got possession of a considerable part of those territories. On the king's approach the people returned to their allegiance; Geoffrey resigned his claim for a pension, and took possession of the county of Nantz, which the inhabitants who had expelled count Hoel, their prince, had put into his hands.

Henry returned the following year to England, where the incursions of the Welch provoked him to make an invasion upon their territories. He soon reduced them to submission.

*Ann. 1158 to 1161.*

Geoffrey, the king's brother, dies soon after his acquisition of the county of Nantz. Henry lays claim to it, as devolved to him by hereditary right, and goes over to support his pretensions by force of arms against Conan, duke of Brittany, who had already taken possession of the territory; but despairing of being able to make resistance, he delivered up the county of Nantz to the king, and being desirous of securing to himself the support of that powerful monarch, he betrothed his daughter, an only child, yet an infant, to Geoffrey, the king's third son, who was of the same age. Thus, at the death of the duke of Brittany, which took place seven years after, Henry, as the natural guardian to his son and daughter-in-law, put himself in possession of the duchy, and annexed it to his other dominions in France, which consisted, in right of

his father, of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine; in that of his mother, of Normandy; in that of his wife, of Guienne, Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, and Limousin. He revived also his wife's claim on the county of Toulouse, in the right of Philippa duchess of Guienne, her mother, who was the only issue of William IV. count of Toulouse, and would have inherited his dominions had not that prince, desirous of preserving the succession in the male line, conveyed it to his brother Raymond de St. Gilles, by a contract of sale which was known to be fictitious and illusory. The present count of Toulouse, Raymond, grandson of Raymond de St. Gilles, applied for protection to the king of France, who was so much interested to prevent the farther aggrandisement of the English monarch. Henry, finding that he should be obliged to support by force of arms against potent antagonists a claim which he had in vain asserted by arguments and manifestos, assembled a formidable army, and invaded the county of Toulouse. After having taken Verdun, Castelnau, and some other fortresses, he besieged the capital, when the king of France threw himself into the place with reinforcements. This war between the two monarchs produced no memorable event. It soon ended in an armistice, which was followed by a peace, that, however, would not have been of long duration, had it not been for the mediation and authority of Pope Alexander III. who had been chased from Rome by the Anti-pope Victor IV. and resided at that time in France.

To give an idea of the immense authority acquired by the Roman Pontiff, through the ignorance of those ages and the weakness of the sovereigns, it may be proper to observe, that in the year 1160, the two kings, Henry and Lewis, having met the Pope at the castle of Torci, on the

Loire, they gave him such marks of respect that both dismounted to receive him, and holding each of them one of the reins of his bridle, walked on foot by his side, and conducted him in that submissive manner into the castle. How could they do less, when, by the prevalent opinion of the times, Gregory VII. and his bold successors had been allowed to maintain, as a fundamental principle, that the church being entitled to excommunicate the ungodly sovereigns, and the deposing being inseparable from the anathema, the necessary consequence of these premises was, that the church had an incontestable right to depose any sovereign rebellious to its maxims; and of course, that the Pope was above all sovereigns either in temporal or in spiritual concerns. The papal chair being thus become the first throne in the world, all the intrigues, cabals, and factions which attended every election to the papacy are not to be wondered at, though greatly detrimental to the Christian religion; as it frequently happened, from the violence of each party's zeal for its candidate, that two Popes were proclaimed at once instead of one, and as long as the schism lasted it was impossible to determine which of them was the right Pope, and which the Anti-pope. It is not to be denied that the fatal division between the Regale and Pontificate, which began to take place in the eleventh century, was the consequence of the exorbitant pretensions of the Popes above mentioned, and of those of the emperors of the west, who, from the concessions made by the Holy See to Charlemagne, claimed the right of naming not only the bishops but the Pope himself; they often did so; they even went so far as to depose those they had not named. The Pope sometimes gave, sometimes imitated the example by deposing the emperor and naming an Anti-Cæsar

as the emperor named Anti-popes, a scandal, which not uncommonly occurred from the Pontificate of Gregory VII.

The temporal influence of the clergy was dally gaining ground in England, and was already grown to such a pitch as to endanger the royal authority. They pretended to be exempted, not only from the ordinary taxes of the state but from its penal laws, as during the last reign they had obtained an immunity from all but ecclesiastical penalties. From the beginning of his reign, the king had shown a fixed purpose to repress clerical usurpations. But out of regard for the mild character and advanced age of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and his merit in refusing to put the crown on the head of Eustace, son of Stephen, he resolved to postpone the execution of his plans of ecclesiastical reform during the life-time of the primate.

*Ann. 1162 to 1164.*

Soon after the death of Theobald, Henry returns to England, and resolves not to postpone any longer the execution of his measures against the encroachments of the clergy. That he might be more secure against any opposition to that indispensable reform, he named to the vacant See of Canterbury, Thomas Becket, his chancellor, in whose compliance he thought he could entirely depend.

The famous Thomas Becket, the first man of English extraction, who, since the Norman conquest, had risen to any share of power, was the son of a citizen of London, where he received his early education. He resided some time at Paris, and on his return, became clerk of the sheriff's office. He was then recommended to the archbishop of Canterbury, and obtained from him some beneficial dignities, which enabled him to travel to Italy, where he studied the civil law at Bologna. On his

return, he was promoted to the archdeaconry of Canterbury, an office of considerable trust and profit. On the accession of Henry to the throne, Becket was recommended to him as worthy of greater preferment, and the monarch, on further acquaintance, finding him so, promoted him to the dignity of chancellor. Honours, preferments, and riches were now heaped upon him. His revenues were immense, his expences incredible. The pomp of his retinue, the munificence of his presents, the sumptuousness of his furniture, and his lofty apartments glittering with gold and silver plate, exhibited the splendour of his station. He kept open table for persons of all ranks; the greatest barons were proud of being invited to it, and the king himself frequently vouchsafed to partake of his entertainments. His amusements were gay, and partook of the cavalier spirit, which, as he had only taken deacon's orders, he did not think unbefitting his character. He employed himself at leisure hours in hawking, hunting, gaming, and tilting, at which he was so expert, that even the most approved knights dreaded his encounter; he exposed his person in several military actions; he carried over at his own charge seven hundred knights to attend the king in his wars at Toulouse; in the subsequent wars on the frontiers of Normandy, he maintained during forty days twelve hundred knights and four thousand of their train, and in an embassy to France, he astonished that court by the number and magnificence of his retinue.

Such was Thomas Becket when only chancellor; but he was no sooner installed in the high dignity of archbishop of Canterbury, which rendered him for life the second person in the kingdom, than he totally altered his conduct, and endeavoured to acquire the highest character for sanctity. Without consulting the king, he immediately returned into

his hands the seals of office, as lord chancellor, pretending that he must thenceforth detach himself from secular affairs, and be only employed in the exercise of his spiritual functions. He maintained in his retinue and attendants, his former pomp and lustre, which was necessary to influence the minds of the vulgar. He likewise affected the greatest austerity and most rigid mortification. He wore sackcloth next his skin, which, by his affected care to conceal it, was the more remarked; he changed it so seldom that it was filled with vermin: his usual diet was bread; his drink water, which he even rendered farther unpalatable by the mixture of unsavoury herbs. He tore his back with frequent discipline: he daily, on his knees, washed in imitation of Christ, the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards dismissed with presents: he gained the affections of the monks by his frequent charities to the convents and hospitals: every one who made profession of sanctity was admitted to his conversation, and returned full of panegyrics on the humility, piety, and mortification of the holy primate: he seemed to be perpetually employed in reciting prayers and pious lectures: his grave and penitent aspect, his looks always upwards or downwards, wore the appearance of holy meditation, or secret compunction, but all men of penetration who knew his character and genius, plainly saw through that hypocritical mask, that his ambition had turned itself towards a new and more dangerous object. The king was soon after convinced of it, when he saw the boldness and intrepidity with which the new primate revived some ancient claims to several church lands, and issued in spiritual courts, where he was both judge and party, sentences of excommunication against the principal of the nobility, and even the most intimate friends

of the king, who were unwilling to give up those lands which they had peaceably possessed from the time of the conquest. The king sent him his orders to absolve one of them, but received for answer, that it belonged not to the king to inform him whom he should absolve and whom excommunicate, and it was not till after many remonstrances and menaces, that Becket condescended with the worst grace imaginable to comply with the royal mandate.

Henry did not desist, however, from his former intention of reforming at least the principal abuses reproached to the clergy; and among others, the practice of paying them large sums as a commutation for the severe penances which they pretended to be of an absolute necessity as an atonement for sin, by which means the offences of the people were become a most luxuriant branch of the revenues of the priests, as the king computed, that by this invention alone, they levied more money upon his subjects than the royal exchequer by the produce of all the funds and taxes. To release the people from such arbitrary impositions, Henry required that a civil officer of his appointment should be present in all ecclesiastical courts, and should, for the future, give his consent to every composition with sinners for their spiritual offences.

The ecclesiastics in that age reckoned among their immunities an exemption in criminal accusations from a trial before courts of justice, and were gradually introducing a like exemption in civil causes; spiritual penalties alone could be inflicted for their offences.

An opportunity soon offered that gave the king a popular motive for beginning his intended reformation. A man in holy orders had debauched the daughter of a gentleman in Worcestershire, and murdered the father. The atrociousness of the

crime having produced a general indignation, the king insisted that the assassin should be tried by the civil magistrate. Becket alledging the privileges of the church, ordered the criminal to be confined in the bishop's prison. The king insisted in vain that the murderer might be tried first by an ecclesiastical court, and then delivered up to the secular magistrate. Becket asserted, that it was contrary to law to try any man twice for the same offence, and declared that he would submit his opinion to the decision of the Pope. The king having thus reduced the clergy to the necessity of espousing the cause of the most atrocious criminal to defend their own, found that this circumstance was the most favourable that could ever occur to attack at once all their immunities. He therefore summoned an assembly of all the bishops of England, and put to them this decisive question; whether or not they were willing to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom? To this they replied, they were willing, except where their own order was concerned. The king, provoked by this evasive answer, instantly quitted the assembly with visible marks of his indignation, and sent Becket orders to surrender the honours and castles which he continued to hold in consequence of having been chancellor. The bishops were terrified, Becket alone was inflexible, and nothing but the interposition of the Pope's legate, who dreaded a breach with so powerful a prince in such circumstances, could have prevailed on him to retract the saving clause, and give a general and absolute promise of observing the ancient customs and laws of the kingdom. It remained to define expressly those with which the king required compliance; he therefore summoned, in 1164, a general council of the nobility and prelates at Clarendon, to whom he submitted that important affair. A number of re-



gulations, well known afterwards under the title of the *constitutions of Clarendon*, were then voted without opposition. They enacted, that clergymen accused of any crime should be tried in the civil courts; that laymen should not be tried in the spiritual courts, except by legal and reputable witnesses; that the king should ultimately judge in ecclesiastical and spiritual appeals; that the archbishops and bishops should be regarded as barons, and obliged to furnish the public supplies, as usual with persons of their rank; that the goods forfeited to the king should not be protected in churches or church-yards by the clergy; and that the sons of villans should not be admitted to take orders without the consent of their lords. These, with some others of less consequence, or implied in the above to the number of sixteen, were readily subscribed by all the bishops present; and Becket himself, after some reluctance, added his name to the number. Pope Alexander III. however condemned and annulled them in the strongest terms.

Becket on this occasion expressed the deepest sorrow for his pretended criminal compliance, and redoubled his austerities to atone for it, refusing at the same time to officiate at the altar, till he had obtained absolution from his holiness. The king considered this hypocritical farce as an insult, and resolving to supersede the prelate's authority at any rate, he desired that the Pope would send a legate to England. This the Pope readily granted, and a legate was appointed, but with a clause annexed to his commission, that he was to execute nothing in prejudice of the archbishop. The king sent back the commission with great indignation, and took another way to humble Becket. He had him sued for some lands by the mareshal of the exchequer. On the day appointed for the trial, the primate

sent four knights to represent certain irregularities in the mareschal's appeal, and at the same time to excuse himself on account of sickness for not appearing personally that day in the court. He was, however, condemned as guilty of a contempt of the king's court, and as wanting in the fealty which he had sworn to his sovereign. All his goods and chattels were confiscated, and the bishop of Winchester was obliged to pronounce the sentence against him. The king exhibited another charge against him for three hundred pounds, for the payment of which Becket agreed to give sureties. The next day the king demanded five hundred marks, which he affirmed to have lent Becket during the war at Toulouse, and another sum of the same amount, for which the king had been surety for him to a Jew. Immediately after these two claims, Henry proclaimed a third of still greater importance. He required him to give in the accounts, and pay the balance due from the revenues of all the prelacies, abbey, and baronies, which had been subject to his management during his chancellorship. The estimate was laid at no less than forty-four thousand marks.

Becket was advised by his friends to submit himself to the king's mercy, or to resign his See on condition of receiving an acquittal; but preferring to follow the dictates of his pride, he determined to brave all his enemies, and to stand the utmost efforts of royal indignation. After a few days spent in deliberation, he went to church, said mass, and from the altar he went to court, arrayed in his pontifical vestments, and entered the king's apartments, holding up his cross as his banner of protection. Henry, astonished at this unexpected parade, by which the primate seemed to menace him and his court with the sentence of excommunication, sent some of the prelates to remonstrate

with him on account of such audacious behaviour. In the mean time, Becket departed from the palace, asked the king's immediate permission to leave Northampton, and upon meeting with a refusal, he withdrew secretly, wandered about in disguise for some time, and at last took shipping and arrived safely at Gravelines. The flight of the primate occasioned no small bustle at court ; as soon as it was known, the king convened the bishops and barons to consider what was proper to be done on that event. It was agreed to send to the Pope a splendid embassy, consisting of five bishops and several noblemen of the first rank, to prosecute the archbishop, and, if possible, to procure his deposition.

The violent and unjust prosecution of Becket, joined to his reputation for sanctity, insured him a very favourable reception on the continent. The king of France, who hated Henry, affected to pity the holy prelate. The Pope, whose cause he had so strenuously defended, honoured him with the greatest marks of distinction, while he treated with coolness and contempt the magnificent embassy which Henry had sent to him. The king in revenge sequestrated the revenues of Canterbury, and banished all the primate's relations and domestics to the number of four hundred.

*Ann. 1165 to 1169.*

The kings of France and England have an interview at Gisors, in Easter week 1165, respecting the affair of Becket. But nothing is concluded in the negotiation. Becket resigns the See of Canterbury into the hands of the Pope, as having been uncanonically elected to it by a royal mandate. Alexander confers anew that dignity upon him, and abrogates by a bull the sentence which the great

council of England had passed against him. Henry having attempted in vain to procure a conference with the Pope, issues orders, *by his sole authority, will, and pleasure*, prohibiting to his justiciaries, under severe penalties, all appeals to the Pope or archbishop; forbidding any one to receive any mandates from them, or apply in any case to their authority; declaring it treasonable to bring from either of them an interdict upon the kingdom; and punishable, in secular clergymen by the loss of their eyes and by castration; in regulars, by the amputation of their feet; and in laymen, with death; and menacing with sequestration and banishment the persons themselves and their kindred\* who should pay obedience to any such interdict.

Becket in his turn issues a censure, excommunicating the king's chief ministers by name, and all those who favoured or obeyed the constitutions of Clarendon, abrogating and annulling these constitutions, absolving all men from the oaths which they had taken; he even threatens to excommunicate the king himself, unless he atones for his offences by a timely repentance. Besides, in virtue of a legantine commission Becket had obtained from the Pope over England, which admitted of no appeal, he summoned the bishops of London, Salisbury, and others, to attend him, and ordered, under pain of excommunication, the ecclesiastics sequestered on his account, to be restored in two months to all their benefices. The only remedy to these abuses of the spiritual censures, was an appeal to the Pope, who countenanced them. However, Henry perceiving that his authority began to decline among his subjects, secretly wished for an accommodation, and resolved at any rate to apply to the Pope for his mediation. The present circumstances were very favourable, as Alexander, threatened himself every day by the machinations

of the Anti-pope Paschal III. supported by the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, was apprehensive that the king of England might join against him. Thus, the disposition of both parties produced frequent attempts towards an accommodation, but their mutual jealousies often protracted the treaty, Becket never losing an opportunity of impeaching the king's ministers, and obstructing all his measures.

*Ann. 1170 to 1171.*

All difficulties were at last adjusted between the king and the primate, on conditions as honourable as advantageous to the latter, who was not required to resign any of those pretensions which had been the original ground of the controversy, now buried in oblivion. It was agreed, that without making farther submissions, Becket and his adherents should be restored to all their livings, that the possessors of such benefices as depended on the See of Canterbury, and had been filled during the primate's absence, should be expelled, and Becket entitled to supply the vacancies. Such were the concessions by which Henry obtained the only advantage of seeing his ministers absolved from the sentence of excommunication pronounced against them, and of preventing the interdict, which was ready to be laid on his dominions.

So anxious was Henry to be fully reconciled with Becket, that he condescended to take the most extraordinary steps to flatter his vanity. All material points being adjusted, Becket attended Henry on horseback; and as they rode together, the prelate begged some satisfaction for the invasion of his right by the archbishop of York, who had some time before crowned the young prince Henry, when the king had associated him to the royalty. To this Henry replied, that what was past could not

be undone, but that he would take care, that none but he should crown the young queen, which ceremony was soon to be performed. Becket, transported at this instance of the king's kindness, alighted instantly, and threw himself at the feet of his sovereign, who, leaping from his horse at the same time, lifted him from the ground, and humiliated himself so far as to hold the stirrup of the haughty prelate while he mounted.

Becket soon began to show, that not even a temporary tranquillity was to be the result of his reconciliation. Instead of retiring quietly to his diocese, he made a progress through Kent, in all his splendour and magnificence of a sovereign pontiff. On his meeting the archbishop of York and the bishops of London and Salisbury, who were on their journey to the king in Normandy, he notified to the archbishop the sentence of suspension, and to the two bishops that of excommunication, which, at his solicitation, the Pope had pronounced against them. In all the towns through which he passed, he was received with the acclamations of the populace, and with shouts of joy by men of all ranks. Emboldened by this reception, he issued the sentence of excommunication against all the persons who had either assisted at the coronation of the young prince, or been active in the late persecution of the exiled clergy. When the suspended and excommunicated prelates arrived at Bayeux, where the king then resided, and complained to him of the violent proceedings of Becket, assuring him, that so long as the primate lived he could never expect to enjoy peace or tranquillity, the king was violently agitated; and in the vehemence of his indignation, burst forth into an exclamation against his servants, whose want of zeal, he said, had so long left him exposed to the enterprises of that ungrateful and imperious prelate, *Four gentle-*

men of his household, Reginald Fitz-Ursa, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, taking these passionate expressions to be a hint for Becket's death, immediately communicated their thoughts to each other, and swearing to revenge their prince's quarrel, secretly withdrew from court. Some menacing expressions which they had dropped, having reached the ears of the king, and giving him a suspicion of their design, he dispatched immediately a messenger after them to forbid them to attempt any thing against the person of the primate. But the messenger could not overtake them before their arriving at Canterbury. They proceeded in great haste to the archiepiscopal palace, where they found the primate very slenderly attended. They followed him to the church of St. Benedict, murdered him before the altar, and retired without any opposition.

Such was the tragical end of that extraordinary man, whose pride, boldness, hypocrisy, and ingratitude were never surpassed, unless by his ambition, which was his over-ruling passion to such a degree, that to obey its dictates, he did not hesitate to give up immediately the comforts and luxuries of the most splendid life, in which he had so long indulged, and to submit himself to a series of such hard and disgusting mortifications, that, had they been imposed upon him as a penance, would have been considered as more than sufficient to atone for the most atrocious crimes.

No sooner was Becket's death known, than the people rushed into the church to see the body, and dipping their hands in his blood, crossed themselves with it as with that of a saint. Innumerable were the miracles said to be wrought at his tomb. It was not sufficient that his shrine had the power of restoring dead men to life; it restored also cows, dogs, and horses. It was reported and believed, that he

rose from his coffin before he was buried, to light the tapers designed for his funeral.

Nothing could exceed the king's consternation upon receiving the news of the death of the primate. He was instantly sensible that the murder would be ultimately imputed to him. In the mean time he foresaw, that the plan of clerical reformation he had so much at heart, would be more powerfully counteracted by Becket's death than it could have been by his opposition. These considerations gave him the most unfeigned concern. He shut himself up in darkness, refusing even the attendance of his servants, and rejecting, during three days, all food and sustenance. The courtiers, apprehending dangerous effects from his despair, broke, at last, into his solitude to persuade him to take some nourishment, and think about the measures which should be adopted to prevent the consequences which he so justly apprehended.

The chief point of importance to Henry was to convince the Pope of his innocence. He entrusted with that mission, and dispatched immediately to Rome, the archbishop of Rouen, the bishops of Evreux and Worcester, with five persons of inferior quality.

After many difficulties and delays, the embassy found means at last to appease the Pope, who was made sensible of the innocence of the king; accordingly, the anathemas were only levelled in general against all the actors, accomplices, and abettors of Becket's murder. All things being thus adjusted, the king, in order to divert the minds of the people to a different object, undertook an expedition to Ireland, which he had long projected, and by which he hoped to recover his credit, somewhat impaired by his late transactions with the clergy.



*Ann. 1172.*

Ireland was probably first peopled from Britain. The Irish from the beginning of time had been buried in the most profound ignorance and barbarism ; and as they had never been invaded by the Romans, they continued in the most rude state of society. The small principalities into which they were divided, exercised perpetual rapine against each other ; the uncertain succession of their princes was a continual source of convulsions ; and the usual title of each sovereign was the murder of his predecessor. They had felt the invasions of the Danes ; but these inroads, which had spread barbarism in other parts of Europe, tended rather to improve the Irish ; and the only towns which were to be found in the island, had been built along the coasts by the freebooters of Norway and Denmark.

At the time when Henry first planned the invasion of Ireland, there were, besides many small tribes, five principal sovereignties in the island, Munster, Leinster, Meath, Ulster, and Connaught ; and the one or the other of these princes who took the lead in their wars, seemed to act for the time as monarch of Ireland. Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, was advanced to this dignity, but he had no means either for the establishment of order, or for defence against invaders. These circumstances induced Henry to attempt the subjection of Ireland. He wanted only a pretence, and for this purpose he had applied to Rome, which assumed a right to dispose of kingdoms and empires. Adrian IV. who then filled the papal chair, was easily persuaded to act as master of the world, and in the year 1156 he had issued a bull in favour of Henry, in which, after premising that this prince had ever shown an anxious care to enlarge the church of God on earth, he represents

his design of subduing Ireland, as derived from the same motives; considers his care in applying previously for the apostolic sanction, as a sure earnest of success and victory; and having established as a point incontestable, that all Christian kingdoms belong to the patrimony of St. Peter, he exhorts the king to invade Ireland, in order to extirpate the vice and wickedness of the natives, and oblige them to pay yearly from every house, a penny to the See of Rome; he gives him entire right and authority over the island; commands all the inhabitants to obey him as their sovereign, and invests with full power all such godly instruments as he should think proper to employ in an enterprise thus calculated for the glory of God, and the salvation of the souls of men. Henry however, detained by more urgent business on the continent, waited for a favourable opportunity of invading Ireland; and it was offered by the following circumstance.

Dermot, king of Leinster, a licentious tyrant, having carried off in a sudden invasion the princess Dovergilda, wife of Ororic, prince of Breffny, the latter collected his forces, and being strengthened by the alliance of the king of Connaught, invaded the dominions of Dermot, and expelled him his kingdom. The exiled prince applied to Henry, craving his assistance to recover his sovereignty, and offered on that event to hold his kingdom in vassalage under the crown of England. Henry accepted the offer, but declined for the present embarking in the enterprise, and gave Dermot no farther assistance than letters patent, by which he empowered all his subjects to aid the Irish prince in the recovery of his dominions. Dermot, supported by this authority, went to Bristol, where he formed a treaty with Richard, surnamed Strong-bow, earl of Strigul, of the illustrious house of Clare. This

nobleman promised assistance to Dermot, on condition that he should marry Eva, daughter of that prince, and be declared heir to all his dominions. While Richard was assembling his forces, Dermot went into Wales, where, meeting with Robert-Fitz-Stephens and Maurice Fitzgerald, he engaged them in his service, and returned privately to Ireland, where he concealed himself in the monastery of Ferns, which he had founded, and prepared every thing for the reception of his English allies. The troops of Fitz-Stephens were first ready. He landed in Ireland with nearly four hundred men, well disciplined and completely armed; the junction of Maurice de Pendergast, who brought over ten knights and sixty archers, enabled Fitz-Stephens to attack and take Wexford, a town inhabited by the Danes. The adventurers being reinforced by another body of a hundred and fifty men, under the command of Maurice Fitzgerald, composed an army which nothing in Ireland was able to withstand. Roderic, king of Connaught, the chief monarch of the island, was foiled in different actions. The prince of Ossory was obliged to submit and give hostages for his peaceable behaviour. Dermot, re-instated in his kingdom, aspired to dethrone Roderic, and to make himself the only sovereign of Ireland.

In prosecution of these views, he sent over a messenger to Richard Strong-bow, to request the accomplishment of his promises. He first sent over Raymond, one of his retinue, with ten knights and seventy archers, who, landing near Waterford, defeated a body of three thousand Irish. Richard, who brought over two hundred horse and a body of archers, joined a few days after the victorious English, and having taken Waterford, they proceeded to Dublin, which they took by assault. Richard marrying Eva, became soon after master

of the kingdom of Leinster by the death of Dermot, and prepared to extend his authority over all Ireland.

At that period, Henry, who had less to conquer a disputed territory than to take possession of a subject kingdom, landed in Ireland, at the head of five hundred knights, besides other soldiers; and in his progress through the island, he had no other occupation than to receive the homage of his new subjects. He left most of the Irish chieftains or princes in possession of their ancient territories, and had still lands enough to bestow on the English adventurers. Richard Strong-bow was made seneschal of Ireland, Hugh de Lacey, governor of Dublin, and John de Courcy, received a patent for conquering the province of Ulster, which had as yet remained unsubdued. Thus, after a trifling effort, Ireland being subdued, became, and has ever since continued an appendage to the English crown.

Henry was recalled from Ireland, by an incident of the last importance to his interest and safety. The two legates, to whom was committed the examination of his conduct in the murder of the primate, were arrived in Normandy, and had sent him frequent letters full of menaces, if he protracted any longer his appearing before them. He hastened, therefore, to Normandy, and had a conference with them at Savigny, where their demands were so exorbitant, that he broke off the negotiation, threatened to return to Ireland, and bade them do their worst against him. They soon perceived that the season was now past for taking so much advantage of the tragical catastrophe, and therefore found themselves obliged to lower their terms. They acknowledged Henry's innocence as to commanding or desiring the death of the archbishop; but as the passion which he had expressed on ac-

count of that prelate's conduct, had probably been the occasion of his murder, the following conditions were agreed on, as an atonement for the offence. Henry promised, that he should pardon all such as had been banished for adhering to Becket, and that they should be restored to their livings; that the See of Canterbury should be re-instated in all its ancient possessions; that he should pay the templars a sum of money sufficient for the subsistence of two hundred knights in the Holy Land during a year; that he should himself take the cross at the Christmas following, and, if the Pope required it, serve three years against the infidels either in Spain or Palestine; that he should not insist on the observance of such customs derogatory to ecclesiastical privileges, as had been introduced in his own time; and that he should not obstruct appeals to the Pope in ecclesiastical causes, but should content himself with exacting sufficient security for such clergymen as left his dominions to prosecute an appeal; that they should attempt nothing against the rights of his crown. Upon signing these conditions, Henry received absolution from the legates, who confirmed him in the grant of Ireland made by Pope Adrian.

Henry, freed from this dangerous controversy with the See of Rome, seemed now to have reached the pinnacle of happiness both in his domestic situation and his political government. He had appointed Henry, his eldest son, to be his successor in the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy, and the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. Richard, his second son, was invested with the duchy of Guienne, and county of Poitou; Geoffrey, his third son, inherited in right of his wife the duchy of Brittany, and Ireland was destined for the appanage of John, his fourth son, in favour of whom, he had also negotiated a marriage

with Adelaïs, the only daughter of Humbert, count of Savoy and Maurienne, and was to receive as her dowry considerable demesnes in Piedmont, Savoy, Bresse, and Dauphiné. But these sons whose fortunes he had so anxiously established, became the means of embittering his future life and disturbing his government.

*Ann. 1173.*

Young Henry, being induced to believe himself injured by his not being admitted into a share of the administration, though he was associated to the royalty, desired the king to resign to him either the crown of England or the duchy of Normandy : he discovered great discontent on the refusal, and hastened to Paris, where he was protected and supported by the king of France. In the mean time, queen Eleanor persuaded her two younger sons, Richard and Geoffrey, that they were also entitled to the actual possession of the territories assigned for their appanage, induced them to fly secretly to the court of France, and prepared herself to follow them, when she was seized by the king's orders and thrown into confinement.

Gallantry was one of the few vices ascribed to Henry II. Queen Eleanor, whom he married from motives of ambition, was long become disagreeable to him, and he sought in others that satisfaction he no longer found with her. One of his mistresses was Rosamond Clifford, better known by the name of *Fair Rosamond*, and represented by all the romances and ballads of that time as the most beautiful woman ever seen in England. Henry was very tenderly attached to her, and in order to secure her from the resentment of the queen, who, from having been formerly incontinent herself, now became jealous of his incontinence, he concealed her in a laby-

rinth in Woodstock-park. The secret of his intercourse, and of Rosamond's concealment, came at last to the queen's knowledge, who, as the accounts add, being guided by a clue of silk to her fair rival's retreat, obliged her, by holding a drawn dagger to her breast, to swallow poison. Whatever may be true in this story, certain it is, that Eleanor first sowed the seeds of dissension between the king and his children, who, being scarcely arrived at the age of puberty, required a great monarch, in the full vigour of his age and height of his reputation, to renounce the throne in their favour, and were encouraged in their unnatural pretensions, by several princes not ashamed to support such an absurd and scandalous claim.

Henry, equally repugnant to wage a war against his children, or to have them punished by a legal prosecution, applied to the Pope for an excommunication against his enemies, hoping that those censures would soon reduce his undutiful sons to obedience. Alexander III. well pleased to exert his power in so justifiable a cause, issued the bulls required of him; but they were supported with so much reluctance and negligence by the clergy, that the king, after having taken in vain this humiliating step, was obliged to have recourse to arms. As disaffection had crept in among the English, and many of the licentious barons were enlisted among the forces levied by the princes, twenty thousand Brabançons, joined to some troops which the king brought over from Ireland, and a few barons of approved fidelity, formed the only force with which he intended to resist his enemies; and above all, the king of France, who was at the head of the confederation, and the chief supporter of the princes. Hostilities began on the frontiers of Normandy. The mighty efforts of the king's enemies being every where entirely frustrated, a day was

appointed for a conference between the two monarchs to establish a general peace. They met between Trie and Gisors, where Henry had the mortification to see his three sons in the retinue of his mortal enemy. The king made them such offers as children might be ashamed to demand. He insisted only on retaining the sovereign authority in all his dominions, but offered young Henry half the revenues of England, with some places of surety in that kingdom; or, if he rather chose to reside in Normandy, half the revenues of that duchy, with all those of Anjou. He made a like offer to Richard in Guienne, and promised to resign Brittany to Geoffrey. The earl of Leicester, who was present at the negociation, abruptly broke off the conference by the most violent reproaches against Henry; he even put his hand to his sword as if he meant to unsheath it: this furious action threw the whole assembly into confusion, and put an end to the treaty.

In the mean time the king of Scotland made an irruption into Northumberland, but being opposed by Richard de Lucy, whom Henry had left guardian of the kingdom, he retreated into his own country, and agreed to a cessation of arms. This truce enabled Lucy to march southward with his army to oppose an invasion, which the earl of Leicester had made upon Suffolk, at the head of a great body of Flemings. Ten thousand of them were put to the sword, the earl of Leicester was taken prisoner, and the remains of the invaders were glad to compound for a safe retreat into their own country.

*Ann. 1174 to 1175.*

The malcontents being supported by the alliance of so many foreign princes, and encouraged by the king's own sons, resolve to persevere in their en-



terprise. The more to augment the confusion, the king of Scotland, on the expiration of the truce, breaks into the northern provinces with an army of eighty thousand men. Henry finding that England was now the seat of danger, determined to overawe the malcontents by his presence, and landed at Southampton. As he knew the influence of superstition over the minds of the people, he hastened to Canterbury. As soon as he came within sight of the church, he dismounted, walked bare-foot towards it, prostrated himself before the shrine of Thomas Becket, who had been canonized two years before, remained in fasting and prayer during the whole day, and watched all night the holy relics. Not content with this hypocritical show of devotion towards a man who had been the object of his most inveterate animosity, he submitted to a penance still more singular and humiliating; he assembled a chapter of the monks, disrobed himself before them, put a scourge of discipline into the hands of each, and presented his bare shoulders to the lashes, which they inflicted upon him. Next day, he received absolution, and departing for London, soon learnt the agreeable intelligence of a great victory obtained by his generals over the Scots, which was considered as the earnest of his final reconciliation with heaven and with Thomas Becket.

This victory, gained at Alnwick, was signal and decisive. William, king of Scotland, was taken prisoner; his troops, hearing of his disaster, fled on all sides with the utmost precipitation, and made the best of their way to their own country. This important news entirely broke the spirit of the English rebels. The most powerful among them made their submissions, and threw themselves on the king's mercy. Young Henry, who was ready to embark with a large army, to support the En-

glish insurgents, abandoned the enterprise. Lewis attempted in vain to besiege Rouen. A cessation of arms and a conference were once more agreed upon by the two monarchs. Henry granted his sons less advantages than they had formerly refused to accept. The most material were some pensions, some castles for their residence, and an indemnity to all their adherents. The king of Scotland, as a deserved punishment for his ungenerous attack, was obliged to sign a treaty, by which he was compelled to do homage to Henry for his dominions in Scotland. It was agreed that his barons and bishops should do the same; that both should swear to adhere to the king of England against their native prince, if the latter should break his engagements; and that the fortresses of Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, Roxborough, and Sedborough, should be delivered into Henry's hands till the ratification of the treaty. He farther engaged the king and states of Scotland to make a perpetual cession of the fortresses of Berwick and Roxborough, and to allow the castle of Edinburgh to remain in his hands for a limited time. This was the first great ascendant which England obtained over Scotland, and indeed, the first important transaction which took place between the two kingdoms.

*Ann. 1176, 1177, 1178.*

Henry, having thus gloriously extricated himself from a very critical situation, and re-established submission and tranquillity in all his dominions, turned his attention for several years principally to the administration of justice. He enacted severe penalties against murder, robbery, coining, arson; and ordained, that these crimes should be punished by the amputation of the right hand and right foot. The superstitious trial by water-ordeal,

though condemned by the church, still subsisted ; but Henry ordained, that any man accused of murder or any heinous felony, by the oath of the legal knights of the county, should be banished, though acquitted by the ordeal. He portioned out the kingdom into four divisions, and appointed itinerant justices, either prelates or considerable noblemen, to go their respective circuits to try causes. He renewed the trial by juries, which, by the barbarous method of camp-fight, was almost grown obsolete. He demolished all the castles that had been built in the times of anarchy ; and established a well-armed militia, which, with proper accoutrements specified in the act, were to defend the realm upon any emergency. Another of his laws was, that the goods of a vassal should not be seized for a debt of his lord, unless the vassal were a surety for the debt, and that the rents of vassals should be paid to the creditors of the lord, not to the lord himself. It is remarkable, that this law was enacted by the king in a council held at Verneuil, which consisted of some prelates and barons of England, as well as some of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Brittany, and the statute took place in all these last mentioned territories, though totally unconnected with each other ; a certain proof of the irregularity of the ancient feudal government, and how near the sovereigns, in some instances, approached to despotism, though in others they seemed scarcely to possess any authority.

*Ann. 1179 to 1186.*

The king of France (Lewis the Young) makes a pilgrimage to Canterbury, to visit the tomb of Becket, and beg his intercession for the cure of Philip, his eldest son, whom he found recovered on his return, and soon after had him consecrated at

Rheims, as his successor to the throne. Henry, who was in France, attended the ceremony, as well as the count of Flanders, who bore the royal sword, as being a peer of France,

Richard refusing to obey his father's orders in doing homage to his elder brother, for the duchy of Guienne, a war ensues between him and his brothers, Henry and Geoffrey. The king interferes to compose their differences, and finds that these three princes conspired against him. The conspiracy is defeated by the death of young Henry, attended with the deepest remorse for his undutiful conduct towards his father. Richard becoming heir in his room, soon discovers the same ardent ambition that had misled his elder brother, refuses to obey his father's commands in giving up Guienne, and makes preparations to attack his brother Geoffrey. The quarrel being made up at the intercession of the queen, Geoffrey demanded absolutely, that Anjou should be annexed to his dominions of Bretagne. This being refused him, he fled to the court of France, and prepared to levy an army against his father, when he was killed in a tournament at Paris. The widow of Geoffrey, soon after his decease, was delivered of a son, who was named Arthur, and invested in the duchy of Brittany, under the guardianship of his grandfather, who, as duke of Normandy, was also superior lord of that territory, as it had been stipulated in the cession of Normandy to Rollo, the Dane, by Charles le Simple. The king of France (Philip August) as lord paramount, pretended to this wardship, but was obliged to yield to the inclinations of the Britons, who preferred the government of Henry.

*Ann.* 1187, 1188, 1189.

The Saracens, though obliged to yield to the

Christian armies in the first crusade, had recovered courage after the torrent was past, and attacking on all quarters the settlements of the Europeans, had reduced them to great difficulties. A second crusade, under the emperor Conrad, and Lewis VII. king of France, in which there perished above two hundred thousand men, had brought them but a temporary relief, when Saladin, a prince of great abilities and bravery, having fixed himself on the throne of Egypt, and finding the settlement of the Christians in Palestine an invincible obstacle to the progress of his arms, took advantage of the dissensions which prevailed among them, invaded the frontiers, and having bribed the count of Tripoli, who commanded their armies, gained over them at Tiberiade a complete victory, which utterly annihilated the force of the already languishing kingdom of Jerusalem. The holy city itself fell into his hands; the kingdom of Antioch was almost entirely subdued; and a few maritime towns were the only remains of all the conquests, which, near a century before, had cost the efforts of all Europe. Pope Urban III. it is pretended, died of grief on receiving this dismal intelligence, and his successor, Gregory VIII. employed the whole time of his short pontificate, in rousing to arms all the Christians who acknowledged his authority. In these circumstances, the archbishop of Tyre being admitted in a conference between Henry and Philip near Gisors, gave such pathetic descriptions of the miserable state of the eastern Christians, that the two kings agreed to convert their whole attention to the rescuing Jerusalem from the hands of the Infidels. They instantly took the cross; many of their most considerable vassals imitated their example; and as the emperor Frederic I. entered into the confederacy, it was universally expected that nothing could resist their united endeavours.

The kings of France and England imposed a tax, amounting to the tenth of all moveable goods, on such as remained at home. But there were still many obstacles to surmount, issuing both from Philip's jealousy of Henry's power, and from the ambitious temper of Richard, who, wishing to gather alone all the laurels of such an expedition, could not bear to have even his father a partner in his victories; and as Henry's departure for the Holy Land could not be prevented but by a personal war, it remained only to create a pretence for hostilities between the two kings, and accordingly it was agreed between Philip and Richard, that to answer that purpose, the latter would make an inroad into the territories of the count of Toulouse, who immediately carried complaints of this violence before the king of France, as his superior lord. Philip remonstrated with Henry; but received for answer, that Richard had confessed to the archbishop of Dublin, that his enterprise against the count of Toulouse, had been undertaken with the approbation of Philip himself, and conducted by his authority. Philip did not confess nor deny the fact, but still prosecuted his design, and invaded the provinces of Berry and Auvergne. Henry retaliated by making inroads upon the frontiers of France. Terms of peace were more than once offered to Henry, and fully convinced him of the perfidy of his son, and his secret alliance with Philip, who required, that Richard should be crowned king of England in the life time of his father, and invested in all his transmarine dominions, and that he should immediately marry Alice, Philip's sister, to whom he had formerly been affianced. Henry rejected these terms, and Richard, according to his secret agreement with the king of France, revolted against his father, did homage to Philip for all the dominions which

Henry held of that crown, and received the investitures as if he had already been the lawful possessor.

The Pope's legate, displeased with the increasing obstacles to the crusade, excommunicated Richard as the chief spring of discord, and Philip was threatened with having an interdict laid on all his dominions. But Philip despised the menace, and answered, that it belonged not to the Pope to interpose in the temporal disputes of princes, much less in those between him and his rebellious vassal. In the mean time, the chief barons of Henry's dominions in France, finding that the young prince to whom they were attached, had now received the investiture from their superior lord, declared for him, and many towns opened their gates to him and to Philip. The intelligence which Henry received of the taking of Tours, and the daily instances he had of the infidelity of his governors, so subdued his spirits, that he submitted not only to the terms he had already rejected, but to some others still more rigorous, namely, that he should pay twenty thousand marks to the king of France, as a compensation for the charges of the war; that his own barons should engage to make him observe this treaty by force, and in case of his violating it, should promise to join Philip and Richard against him; and that all his vassals who had entered into confederacy with Richard, should receive an indemnity for their offence. When he saw at the head of their list the name of his second son John, who had always been his favourite, the unhappy father broke out into expressions of the utmost despair, cursed the day in which he received his miserable being, and bestowed on his ungrateful children a malediction which he could never be prevailed on to retract. This finishing blow, by depriving him of every comfort in life, quite broke

his spirit and threw him into a lingering fever, of which he died at the castle of Chinon near Saumur, on the 6th of July 1189, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

Henry II. was undoubtedly the most powerful of all the kings that ever filled the throne of England. He was endowed with more wisdom and abilities than all the princes of his time; thence the constant success of his ambitious schemes and enterprises. But while he was so fortunate abroad, he was the unhappiest of men at home, through the bad behaviour of his queen and children; and indeed, he could expect nothing better from his union with a princess lately divorced for incontinence, and whom he made too sensible that ambition alone had determined his choice. How could such a wife ever be a good mother? was it not obvious that in the education of their children, her principal care would be to inculcate in them principles and inclinations the best calculated to model them into tools of hatred and revenge against a despising husband; and she succeeded but too well in making all of them undutiful and rebellious sons. Neither can history pass over in silence how much Henry forgot his own dignity, not only when he applied to the Pope to receive from him the most illegal investiture of Ireland; but in submitting himself voluntarily, out of policy, to that hypocritical show of devotion and penitence before the shrine of Thomas Becket, and to the degrading penance inflicted upon him by the monks of Canterbury. These few blemishes do not, however, lessen the merit of all the important reforms and innovations which signalized his reign. His care in administering justice had gained him so great a reputation, that even foreign and distant princes submitted their differences to his judgment; namely, Sanchez, king of Navarre, and Alphonso, king of Castile.



Henry so far abolished the barbarous and absurd practice of confiscating ships wrecked on the coast, that he ordained, if one man or animal were alive in the ship, that the vessel and goods should be restored to the owners. He first introduced the practice of making a commutation for money of the feudal military service, which, though extremely burthensome to the subject, was of very little utility to the sovereign, as the barons or military tenants came always late into the field, and being obliged to serve only forty days, were unskilful and disorderly in their operations. Henry was also the first that levied a tax on the moveables or personal estates of all his subjects without distinction. Their zeal for the holy wars made them submit to this innovation, and a precedent being once obtained, this taxation became, in following reigns, the usual method of supplying the necessities of the state.

It was a usual practice of the kings of England, to repeat the ceremony of their coronation thrice every year, on assembling the states at the three great festivals. Henry, after the first year of his reign never renewed this ceremony, which was found to be as useless as it was expensive.

It is reported in *Anglia Sacra*, (vol. ii. cap. 5.) that the monks of St. Swithun threw themselves one day prostrate in the mire before Henry, complaining, with many tears and doleful lamentations, that their abbot had cut off three dishes from their table; "How many has he left you?" said the king; "Ten only," replied the disconsolate monks. "I myself," exclaimed the king, "never have more than three, and I enjoin your abbot to reduce you to the same number."

The English sailors were already so much admired both at home and abroad for their dexterity and courage, that a law was issued during this reign, to prohibit them from entering into foreign service.

Henry left only two legitimate sons, Richard, who succeeded him, and John, who inherited no territory, and thence was denominated Lackland.

**RICHARD I.** surnamed **CŒUR DE LION**, sixth King from the Conquest:

[Second son of Henry II. born at Oxford, 1157; succeeded his father September 3, 1189, married Berengaria, daughter of the king of Navarre, May 12, 1191; crowned again March 1194; died at the castle of Chalus near Limoges, wounded in the shoulder with an arrow, April 6, 1199, aged 42.]

*Ann.* 1189.

Richard discharges from his service, and treats with scorn and neglect those who had assisted him in his rebellion against the late king. In the mean time he receives with open arms and continues in their offices the faithful ministers of Henry, who had vigorously opposed the enterprises of his sons. He releases the queen, his mother, from her long confinement, and intrusts her with the government till his arrival in England. The king bestows extensive grants and concessions on his brother John, in hopes of recalling and fixing that vicious prince in his duty.

An edict, prohibiting the appearance of the Jews at the king's coronation, gives occasion to a rumour that the king had issued orders to massacre all the Jews; a general slaughter of those who were in London; and the plunder and destruction of their goods, were the immediate consequences of that supposed order. The example of the capital was imitated in the other cities of England. At York,

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*RICHARD I.*  
*five hundred of that nation, who had taken refuge*  
*into the castle, finding themselves unable to defend*  
*the place, murdered their own wives and children,*  
*threw the dead bodies over the walls upon the po-*  
*publce, and then setting fire to the houses, perished*  
*in the flames.*  
 Richard having finally resolved on the expedition  
 to the Holy Land, wanted to raise money for so  
 expensive an enterprise. His father had left him a  
 treasure of a hundred thousand marks, and this  
 sum he endeavoured to augment by all expedients,  
 however pernicious to the public or dangerous to  
 royal authority. He put to sale the revenues and  
 manors of the crown, and several offices of the  
 greatest trust and power. The dignity of chief  
 justiciary was sold to the bishop of Durham, for a  
 thousand marks. When some of his friends sug-  
 gested the danger attending this venality, he told  
 them he would sell the city of London itself, if he  
 could procure a purchaser. Nothing indeed could  
 be a stronger proof how negligent he was of all  
 future interest in comparison of the crusade, than  
 his selling for so small a sum as ten thousand pounds  
 his superiority over the kingdom of Scotland, to-  
 gether with the fortresses of Roxborough and Ber-  
 wick, the greatest acquisition that had been made  
 by his father during the course of his victorious  
 reign.

With this ardent zeal against the infidels, Richard  
 carried so little the appearance of sanctity in his  
 conduct, that Falk, curate of Neuilly, a zealous  
 preacher of the crusade, was so far emboldened as  
 to remonstrate against the king's conduct, and ad-  
 vised him to part with his pride, avarice, and volup-  
 tuousness, which he called the king's three favourite  
 daughters. "You counsel right, my friend," re-  
 plied Richard, "and I have already provided hus-  
 bands for them all. I hereby dispose of the first

to the templars, the second to the benedictines, and the third to my prelates." At length, Richard having got a sufficient supply, left the administration in the hands of Hugh, bishop of Durham, and Longchamp, bishop of Ely, whom he appointed justiciaries and guardians of the kingdom, and then set out for the Holy Land.

The emperor Frederic Barbarossa had already taken the road to Palestine, at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men, and penetrated to the borders of Syria, when he was seized with a mortal distemper from bathing during the greatest heat of the summer in the cold river Cydnus; the same where Alexander the Great had nearly met with a similar fate. Frederic's army, under the command of his son Frederic V. duke of Suabia, reached Palestine, but was so diminished by fatigue, famine, maladies, and the sword, that it scarcely amounted to eight thousand men. Frederic himself died at Ptolemais, (in 1191), after having founded the celebrated Teutonic order, which differed only from the templars, and hospitaler brothers, in the exclusion of all the nobles who were not of German origin and family.

*Ann. 1190, 1191, 1192.*

Richard and Philip arrive in the plain of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy, the first place of rendezvous appointed for the two armies, amounting to one hundred thousand fighting men, the flower of all the military in both dominions. The two monarchs having solemnly pledged their faith not to invade each others territories during the crusade; Philip takes the road to Genoa, Richard that to Marseilles, where their respective fleets waited for them. They put to sea on the 14th of September, but were obliged by stress of weather to take

shelter in Messina, where they were detained during the whole winter.

The harmony between these two monarchs was disturbed by many jealousies and complaints. At length, however, having settled all controversies, Philip set sail for the Holy Land, leaving Richard in Sicily, where he awaited some time the arrival of his mother and bride, Berengaria, daughter of the king of Navarre, with whom he had become enamoured during his abode in Guienne, on his having acquired so convincing a proof of Alice's infidelity, that Philip himself desisted from any further application about Richard's intended marriage with her.

Queen Eleanor having brought the princess of Navarre to Sicily, returned to England; but the princess and the queen dowager of Sicily, Richard's sister, attended him on the expedition. The squadron in which they were embarked, being driven by a furious tempest on the coast of Cyprus, Isaac Comnene, the prince of the island, pillaged the ships that were stranded, threw the seamen and passengers into prison, and even refused the princesses liberty of entering the harbour. But Richard arriving soon after, disembarked his troops, attacked Cyprus, obliged the tyrant to surrender at discretion, threw him into prison loaded with irons, and bestowed the sovereignty of the island on Gui de Lusignan, whose posterity continued in it until the year 1458. The Greek prince who assumed the magnificent title of emperor, complaining of the little regard with which he was treated, Richard ordered silver fetters to be made for him, and the prince, pleased with the distinction, expressed a sense of generosity of his conqueror. Here the king espoused Berengaria, and immediately set sail for Palestine, where the English army arrived in time to partake in the glory of the siege of Acre

or Ptolemais, which had been defended for above two years by the utmost efforts of Saladin, against the united force of all the Christians. The emulation between Philip and Richard, produced extraordinary acts of valour; the latter in particular, animated with a more impetuous courage and more agreeable to the romantic spirit of that age, drew on himself the general attention, and acquired a glorious renown.

As the length of the siege had reduced the Saracen garrison to the last extremity, they surrendered themselves prisoners, and stipulated, in return for their lives, the restoring of the Christian prisoners, and the delivery of the wood of the true cross, which had been lost by the crusades in the battle of Tiberiade. Thus at last, after the loss of three hundred thousand men, this great enterprise was brought to a happy conclusion. But shortly after, Philip, from the bad state of his health, returned to France, leaving Richard ten thousand of his troops, under the command of the duke of Burgundy; and he renewed his oath not to commence hostilities against Richard's dominions during his absence; an engagement which was become still more important by the present situation of England, where the animosities and rival ambition of the two prelates appointed guardians of the realm, had thrown it into confusion, and thereby greatly forwarded the secret views of Philip.

Richard being now left sole conductor of the war, determines to attempt the siege of Adscalon, in order to prepare the way to that of Jerusalem. Saladin, at the head of an army of three hundred thousand combatants, opposes their passage, and engages in the greatest and most celebrated battle that was ever fought. In its beginning, both the right and left wings of the Christians were defeated; when Richard, who led on the main body, restored

the battle by his presence of mind and the intrepidity of his attack, and performing the part both of a consummate general and gallant soldier, he not only gave his two wings leisure to recover from their confusion, but obtained a complete victory over the Saracens, of whom forty thousand are said to have perished in the field. Adscalon surrendered immediately. Other sieges were carried on with equal success, and Richard had even advanced within sight of Jerusalem, when he had the mortification to find that his army was so wasted with famine, fatigue, and even with victory, that they were neither able nor willing to second the views of their commanders. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary to come to an accommodation with Saladin. Richard concluded a truce with that monarch, and stipulated, that Acre, Joppa, and other sea-port towns of Palestine, should remain in the hands of the Christians, and that every one of that religion should have liberty to perform his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. This truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours, a mysterious number, the meaning of which is not to be found in the cotemporary records. Saladin died soon after concluding this truce.

Richard having thus concluded his expedition, resolved to return to England, where his affairs were in a very unprosperous situation through the intrigues of his brother John, and those of the king of France. That monarch had first attempted to carry open war into Normandy; but as the French nobility refused to follow him in the invasion of a state they had sworn to protect, he desisted from the enterprise; but he succeeded completely in drawing prince John from his allegiance: he promised him his sister Alice in marriage, offered to give him possession of all Richard's transmarine

dominions; and had not the authority of queen Eleanor, and the menaces of the English council prevailed over the inclinations of that turbulent prince, he would have executed his criminal designs.

As in such circumstances Richard could not pass through France without the utmost imprudence, he sailed to the Adriatic, and being shipwrecked near Aquileia, he put on the disguise of a pilgrim, with the intention of taking his journey through Germany. Pursued by the governor of Istria, he was forced out of the direct road and obliged to pass by Vienna, where his expences and liberalities having betrayed him, he was arrested and thrown into prison by order of Leopold duke of Austria, as a retaliation for the affront offered him by Richard at the siege of Acre, and which, according to some German historians, rendered all further enterprise utterly impossible on account of the division and disgust it threw among the Christian troops. Richard, had indeed, in an inexcusable fit of violence and haughtiness, pulled off the Austrian banner planted by the duke on the walls of Acre, and put his own in the same place.

*Ann. 1193.*

Henry V. emperor of Germany, being equally an enemy to Richard, on account of his alliance with the king of Sicily, by his marriage with Berengaria, and of his being engaged to marry his nephew Arthur, the young duke of Brittany, to one of Tancred's daughters, requires his being delivered up to him, and stipulated to give a large sum of money as a reward for this service. Thus, the king of England, who had lately acquired the most glorious renown at the head of the united armies of all the Christian sovereigns of Europe, finds



himself loaded with irons by one of them, and confined in the dungeon of a fortress in the heart of Germany. The king of France, soon informed of the event, employs every means of force and intrigue against the dominions and the person of his unfortunate rival. He offers large sums to the emperor to have the royal captive delivered into his hands, or at least detained in perpetual confinement. But the most successful of Philip's negotiations was with prince John, who, on the first invitation of the court of France, went abroad, and made a treaty, in which he stipulated to deliver into Philip's hands a great part of Normandy, and received in return the investiture of all Richard's transmarine dominions. In consequence of this treaty, Philip invaded Normandy; took many of its fortresses - without opposition, but was stopped at Rouen, where he was repulsed in every attack by the gallant Robert earl of Leicester, whose appearance in that critical moment infused courage into the dismayed Normans. Prince John was still less successful in his enterprises; when he arrived in London and claimed the throne as heir to his brother, of whose death he pretended to have received certain intelligence, he was rejected by all the barons; and when he saw the measures that were taken to oppose and subdue him, he thought it prudent to return into France, where he openly avowed his alliance with Philip.

Meanwhile, the emperor treated Richard with the greatest barbarity, reducing him to a condition worse than that of the meanest malefactor, in the sordid view of extorting from him a larger ransom. He even produced him before the diet of the empire at Worms, and accused him of many crimes and misdemeanors. Richard, after premising that his dignity exempted him from answering before any jurisdiction, except that of heaven; yet con-

descended, for the sake of his reputation, to justify his conduct before that great assembly. His spirit and eloquence made such impression on the German princes, that they exclaimed loudly against the conduct of the emperor; the Pope threatened him with excommunication; and Henry finding that it would be impracticable for him to detain the king of England any longer in captivity, agreed to restore him to his freedom for a ransom of one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver; one hundred thousand were to be paid before he received his liberty, and sixty-seven mortgages delivered for the remainder.

*Ann. 1194 to 1199.*

The captivity of the superior lord was one of the cases provided for by the feudal laws; all the vassals, in such case, were obliged to give an aid for his ransom. Twenty shillings were, therefore, levied on each knight's fee in England, and the voluntary zeal of the people readily supplied the deficiency. The churches and monasteries melted down their plate to the amount of thirty thousand marks. The bishops, abbots, and nobles paid a fourth of their yearly rent, and the parochial clergy contributed a tenth of their tithes. The requisite sum being thus completed, queen Eleanor set out for Germany, paid the one hundred thousand marks, delivered hostages for the remainder, and freed Richard from captivity. It has been asserted by the English historians, that Philip had offered to marry the emperor's daughter, and to gratify him with a sum equal to the ransom, if he would only detain his prisoner for one year more in captivity; that the emperor did not then accept the offer out of fear of the resentment of his princes, who, in these feudal times, had power to punish his injustice; but

that he had no sooner restored Richard to liberty, than all his terrors from his own subjects giving way to the superior dictates of avarice, he once more resolved to send him back to his former prison, without returning the money he had received for his ransom, and expecting to extort fresh sums from Philip and prince John; that he gave orders accordingly to have him pursued and arrested, but that luckily for Richard, the messengers were too late. Such abominable schemes may have existed, however improbable, but when they are, like these, unsupported by proof, they should not be found in any history.

Nothing could exceed the joy of the English upon seeing their monarch return after all his achievements, and a confinement of nearly fifteen months. He made his entry into London on the 20th of March 1194, and soon after his arrival, he gave his people an opportunity of publicly displaying their exultation, by ordering himself to be crowned anew at Winchester. Their satisfaction was not damped even when he declared his purpose of resuming all those exorbitant grants, which he had been necessitated to make before his departure for the Holy Land. The barons also, in a great council, confiscated all prince John's possessions in England, on account of his treason, and assisted the king in reducing the fortresses which still remained in the hands of his brother's adherents.

Richard having settled every thing in England, passed over with an army into Normandy, to revenge himself for the many injuries he had received from the king of France. Peace could no more exist between such powerful and martial monarchs, inflamed with personal animosity against each other, enraged by mutual offences, and instigated by the pride and violence of their own temper. Their wars, however, were attended with very few events

worthy notice. When the first hostilities took place, prince John deserted from Philip, threw himself at his brother's feet, and by the intercession of the queen Eleanor, was received into favour. "*I forgive him,*" said the king, "*and hope I shall as easily forget his injuries, as he will my pardon.*" Before he left Philip's party, he invited to dinner all the officers of the garrison which he had placed in the citadel of Evreux; he massacred them during the entertainment, fell, with the assistance of the townsmen, on the garrison, whom he put to the sword, and then delivered up the place to his brother.

In an action near Freteval, between Chateaudun and Vendome, and in which the French rear-guard was routed, the king of France's cartulary and records, which commonly, at that time, attended his person, were taken. That such an accident could never recur, a chest, containing all the records of the crown, was then established in the *Tour du Louvre*, and since transferred by St. Louis, in the holy chapel of Paris. It was on this occasion, that the words *Dieu et mon Droit*, were first used as a motto by Richard.

The most remarkable incident of this war was the taking prisoner in battle, the bishop of Beauvais, a martial prelate of the family of Dreux, and a near relation of the French king. Richard threw him in prison, loaded with irons, and when the Pope demanded his liberty, claiming him as his son, the king sent to his holiness the coat of mail which the prelate had worn in battle, and which was all besmeared with blood; and he replied to him in terms employed by Jacob's sons to that patriarch; "*This have we found; know now whether it be thy son's coat or no.*" The cruelty of both parties was thus inflamed by insult and revenge. Both kings frequently put out the eyes of their prisoners,

and all treaties were broken at the first favourable opportunity. At length, the Pope's legate induced them to enter into a negociation, which promised to be attended with a permanent reconciliation; but the contest was put an end to by the singular accident which occasioned the death of Richard. Videmar, viscount of Limoges, a vassal of the king, had found a treasure, of which he sent only a part to that prince as a present. Richard, as superior lord, claimed the whole, and besieged the viscount in the castle of Chalus near Limoges, to make him comply with his demand. On the fourth day of the siege when he approached the castle to survey it, one Bertrand de Gourdon, an archer, took aim at him and pierced his shoulder with an arrow. The king, however, commanded the assault, took the place, and hanged all the garrison, except Gourdon, whom he reserved for a more cruel execution. The wound was not dangerous, but the unskilfulness of the surgeon made it mortal; when he was sensible that his life was drawing towards a period, he sent for Gourdon, and asked him, "*Wretch! what have I ever done to you to oblige you to seek my life?*" "*What have you done to me?*" replied coolly the prisoner; "*you killed with your own hands my father and my two brothers; and you intended to have hanged me; I am now in your power, and you may take revenge by inflicting on me the most severe torments; but I shall endure them all with pleasure, provided I can think that I have been so happy as to rid the world of such a tyrant?*" Richard, struck with the undauntedness of this reply, ordered Gourdon to be set at liberty, and a sum of money to be given him; but the commanding officer seized the unhappy man, flayed him alive, and then hanged him unknown to the king, who died of his wound on the 6th of April 1199, in the tenth year of his reign and the forty-second of

his age. He left no other issue behind him than a natural son, called Philip.

This gallant prince, passionately fond of military glory, displayed the most shining talents in that career, and deserved by his personal courage and intrepidity, the appellation of *Cœur de Lion*, which was given him. These qualities, which make always great impression on the people, acquired him such a popularity, that though he passed no more than four months in his kingdom, he was much beloved by his English subjects, and would have been one of their best kings, had he promoted their happiness as much as he exerted himself for the glory of their name. But his reign was very oppressive and even arbitrary, from the high taxes which he levied, and often without the consent of the states or great council. In the ninth year of his reign, he levied five shillings on each hyde of land (about a hundred and twenty acres), and because the clergy refused to contribute their share, he put them out of the protection of the law, and ordered the civil courts to give them no sentence for any debts which they might claim. There were two hundred and forty-three thousand six hundred hydes in England; and at that time a hyde was commonly let at twenty shillings a year; the general and stated price of an ox, was four shillings; of a labouring horse, the same; of a sow, one shilling; of a sheep with fine wool, ten-pence; of coarse wool, six-pence. Richard never could bear any contradiction. Of an impetuous and vehement spirit, he was distinguished by all the good as well as the bad qualities incident to that character. He was open, frank, generous, sincere, brave; but he was also revengeful, ambitious, haughty, and committed acts of cruelty which threw an indelible stain on his glory. When Saladin refused to ratify the capitulation of Acre, Richard ordered all his prisoners, to the number of five

thousand; to be butchered; and the Saracens found themselves obliged to retaliate upon the Christians by a like cruelty.

Richard, upon his taking the cross, had declared heir to the throne Arthur, the son of his late brother Geoffrey, duke of Brittany. But on his return, Richard took no step towards securing what he had established according to the order of primogeniture and representation. He even declared, by his last will, his brother John heir to all his dominions, and was succeeded by him.

### JOHN, Seventh King from the Conquest.

*Ann. 1199 to 1202.*

[Fourth son of Henry II.; born at Oxford, 1166; married his cousin Avisa, daughter of the earl of Gloucester, 1189; crowned May 27, 1199; divorced Avisa on the plea of being too near of kin; and married Isabella, daughter of the count of Angoulême, contracted to the count of La Marche, 1200; crowned again with his new queen at London, 1200, and again at Canterbury, 1201; died at Newark castle, October 28, 1216, aged 50; was buried in Worcester cathedral.]

The barons of the provinces of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, declare in favour of Arthur's title, and apply for assistance to the king of France, who embraces the cause of the young duke of Brittany, and sends him to Paris to be educated along with his own son Lewis. John hastens to Rouen, and having secured the duchy of Normandy, passes over to England, takes possession of the throne with the acquiescence of the barons, and returns to France to conduct the war against Philip, and re-

cover the revolted provinces from his nephew Arthur.

The Pope's legate claims the liberty of the bishop of Cambray, taken prisoner by the French in an action against the Flemings. Philip, instead of complying, reproaches the legate with his weak efforts in favour of the bishop of Beauvais, who was in a like condition. The legate shows his impartiality in laying at the same time the kingdom of France and the duchy of Normandy under an interdict, and thus obliges the two kings to make an exchange of their military prelates. Edict of Hastings, published in 1200, by which the king asserts in the strongest terms his dominion over the British seas, and commands his captains to seize all ships which will not strike their topsails to them, to confiscate their cargoes, and imprison their crews, even though subjects of a power in friendship with England.

Constantia, the dowager duchess of Brittany, seized with a violent jealousy that Philip intended to usurp the provinces that had declared for Arthur, finds means to carry off her son secretly from Paris, puts him into the hands of his uncle, to whom she restores the provinces which had adhered to Arthur, and makes the young prince do homage to John for the duchy of Brittany as a rear-fief of Normandy. Philip seeing that he could make no progress against John, becomes desirous of concluding a peace with England; the terms are agreed on, and the limits of all the respective territories finally adjusted. To render the union more durable, John gives his niece Blanche of Castile to prince Lewis, Philip's eldest son, and with her the baronies of Issoudun and Graçai, and other fiefs in Berry.

John, now secure on the side of France, indulges his passion for Isabella, the daughter of the count of Angoulême, married to the count de la Marche; and his queen, the heiress of the family of Gloucester being still alive, he procures a divorce from



her on some pretence or other, and marries Isabella. The injured husband and his brother, count d'Eu, excite commotions in Poitou and Normandy, and oblige the king to have recourse to arms. He summons the English barons to join his standard, but they unanimously reply, that they would not attend him unless he would promise to restore and preserve their privileges. John intimidates them by menaces, engages many of them to follow him, and obliges the rest to pay him a rentage of two marks on each knight's fee as the price of their exemption from the service.

As the jurisprudence of the times required, that the causes in the lord's court should chiefly be decided by duel, John carries along with him a set of hired bravoës whom he retained as champions to fight his cause whenever any of the nobility opposed his encroachments. The nobles regarding it as an insult, declare that they would never fight against such contemptible opponents. The king menaces them with vengeance, but to no purpose. They appeal to the king of France, and complain of the denial of justice in John's court. Philip interposes in their behalf, and begins to talk in a high and menacing style to the king of England. John replies, that it belongs to himself to grant them a trial by their peers in his own court, and that it was not till he failed in this duty, that he was answerable to his peers in the supreme court of the French king.

*Ann. 1203.*

The young duke of Brittany who was now rising to man's estate, sensible of the dangerous character of his uncle, resolves to seek his security by an union with Philip and the malcontent barons, and joins the French army which had began hostilities

against the king of England. He is received with great marks of distinction, and knighted by Philip; marries his daughter Mary, and is invested not only in the duchy of Brittany, but in the counties of Anjou and Maine, which he had formerly resigned to his uncle. Every attempt succeeded with the allies; many towns fell into their hands almost without resistance; and in answer to every advance which the king made towards peace, Philip insisted that he should resign all his transmarine dominions to his nephew, and rest contented with England; when an event happened which deprived the coalition of its most interesting support. Young Arthur had broken into Poitou at the head of a small army, and besieged the fortress of Mirabeau, where his grandmother Eleanor, who had always opposed his interests, had retreated under the protection of a weak garrison and ruinous fortifications. But John, roused from his indolence by so pressing an occasion, advanced with hasty marches at the head of his army, fell on Arthur's camp before that prince was aware of the danger, dispersed his army; took him prisoner, together with the count de la Marche and the most considerable of the revolted barons, and returned in triumph to Normandy. The greater part of the prisoners were sent over to England, but Arthur was shut up in the castle of Falaise. The king represented to him the folly of his pretensions, and required him to renounce the French alliance; but the brave, though imprudent youth, maintained the justice of his cause; asserted his claim not only to the French provinces, but to the crown of England. John, sensible that the young prince, though now a prisoner, might hereafter prove a dangerous enemy, determined to prevent all future peril by dispatching his nephew, and that gallant and amiable prince was never more heard of. The circumstances which attended this

deed of darkness, were no doubt carefully concealed by the actors, and are variously related by historians ; but it appears from the most probable accounts, that Arthur was first removed to the castle of Rouen, where John coming in a boat during the night, commanded the young prince to be brought forth, stabbed him with his own hands, and fastening a stone to the dead body, threw it into the Seine.

From that period, the king, detested by all his subjects, retained a very precarious authority. The Britons enraged, waged implacable war against him ; the states of Brittany carried their complaints before Philip, and demanded justice for the wilful murder committed by John on the person of Arthur. Philip summoned John to stand a trial before him, and on his non-appearance, passed sentence upon that prince with the concurrence of the peers, declared him guilty of felony and parricide, and all his seignories and fiefs in France forfeited to his superior lord. Philip was not remiss in carrying the sentence into execution. John, however, attempted a defence, and even laid siege to Alençon. But Philip persuaded a body of knights assembled at a tournament, to take his part, and these readily joining against John, compelled him to raise the siege.

This was the last military effort of that slothful prince for the defence of his dominions. But he had the meanness to put himself under the protection of Pope Innocent III. entreating him to interpose his authority between him and the French monarch ; and the Pope condescended to send Philip orders to make peace with the king of England ; but the French barons received the message with indignation : Philip seeing their good disposition, instead of obeying the Pope's orders, proceeded to lay siege to Chateaugailard, the most

considerable fortress which remained to protect the frontier of Normandy.

*Ann. 1205, 1206.*

Chateauguillard was taken after an obstinate resistance, and the whole duchy lay open to the invader. While John basely sought safety by flying into England, Philip pushed his conquests with vigour. The whole duchy submitted to his authority, and thus, after being for nearly three centuries dismembered from, was again united to, the French monarchy.

John, on his arrival in England, threw all the blame of his ill success upon his barons, who, he pretended, had deserted his standard in Normandy; and he arbitrarily extorted from them a seventh of their moveables as a punishment for the offence. Soon after he forced them to grant him a rentage of two marks and a half on each knight's fee for an expedition into Normandy; which, however, he deferred till the next year. When the season came for attempting it, he summoned all his barons to attend him, and then deferred again the execution to another opportunity. The year following he put to sea, but returned soon after without making the least attempt. Another year elapsed when he promised that he would strike a most signal blow. He set sail, landed at Larochele, marched to Angers, laid the city in ashes, and hearing that the enemy were preparing to oppose him, he re-imbarked his troops, and returned once more to his country loaded with shame and confusion. The mediation of the Pope procured him at last a truce of two years with France, where the province of Poitou alone acknowledged his authority.

Ann. 1207, 1208.

Pope Innocent III. as ambitious as any of his predecessors, having attained that dignity at the age of thirty-seven years, and being endowed with a lofty and enterprising genius, undertakes more openly than it had ever been done, to convert that superiority yielded him by all the European princes, into a real dominion over them. He first attempted for that purpose, to reduce the whole catholic clergy under an absolute monarchy entirely dependant on their spiritual leader, and to impose taxes at pleasure upon them. In the first year of this century, taking advantage of the popular frenzy for crusades, he sent collectors over all Europe, who levied by his sole authority the fortieth of all ecclesiastical revenues for the relief of the Holy Land, and received the voluntary contributions of the laity to a like amount. But the death of the archbishop of Canterbury, soon offered the aspiring pontiff an opportunity of extending still farther his usurpations. As the monks or canons of Christ-church, Canterbury, possessed a right of voting in the election of their archbishop; some of the juniors who waited for that event, met clandestinely the night of the primate's death, and without any *congé d'élire* from the king, chose Reginald, their sub-prior, for the successor, installed him in the archiepiscopal throne before mid-night; and having enjoined him the strictest secrecy, sent him immediately to Rome to have his election confirmed. But he was no sooner arrived in Flanders, than he revealed the purpose of his journey, which was immediately known in England. The king was enraged at it, the senior monks and the suffragan bishops of Canterbury, who were equally entitled to concur in the choice of their primate, were no less displeased at the exclusion given them

in the election; the junior monks themselves, ashamed of their conduct, and disgusted with the levity of Reginald, were willing to set aside his nomination. Thus the king easily persuaded the canons of Christ-church to make a new election, and departing from the right claimed by his predecessors, he ventured no farther than to inform them privately, that they would do him an acceptable service, if they chose the bishop of Norwich for their primate. The election of that prelate was accordingly made without a contradictory vote. But the suffragan bishops who had not concurred in it, persevering in their pretensions, sent an agent to defend their cause before Innocent; while the king, and the convent of Christ-church, dispatched to Rome, twelve monks of that order to support the election of the bishop of Norwich. The Pope having declared the two elections equally uncanonical, sent for the twelve monks deputed by the convent, and commanded them, under the penalty of excommunication to chuse for their primate, cardinal Langton, an Englishman by birth, but very much attached to the See of Rome. In vain did the monks represent, that they had received from their convent no authority for this purpose, the menaces and authority of the Pope compelled them to comply with his orders.

Innocent, conscious that this flagrant usurpation would be highly resented by the king, sent him a most affectionate letter, with a present of four gold rings set with precious stones, begging him to consider seriously the form of the rings, their number, their matter, and their colour. Their form being round shadowed out eternity, for which it was his duty to prepare; their number four, denoted the four cardinal virtues, which it was his duty to practise; their matter being gold, the most precious of metals, signified wisdom the most valuable of all

accomplishments, and justly preferred by Solomon to riches, power, and all worldly attainments; and as to the colour of the stones, the blue of the sapphire represented faith; the green of the emerald, hope; the redness of the ruby, charity; and the yellow of the topaz, good works. John, inflamed with the utmost rage when he heard of this attempt of the court of Rome, immediately vented his passion on the monks of Christ-church; he sent two knights of his retinue to expel them the convent, and take possession of their revenues. Innocent at first implored him in the most soothing terms, not to oppose God and the church any longer, but finding that he was not sufficiently tamed to submission, he sent three prelates to intimate that if he persevered in his disobedience, the sovereign pontiff would be obliged to lay the kingdom under an interdict. All the English bishops entreated the king on their knees to prevent the scandal of this sentence by a speedy submission. He burst into the most indecent invectives against them, swore by God's teeth, his usual oath, that if the Pope presumed to lay his kingdom under an interdict, he would send to him all the bishops and clergy in England, and confiscate all their estates; and if thenceforth he caught any Romans in his dominions, he would put out their eyes and cut off their noses.

Innocent, little frightened by these menaces, fulminated the sentence of interdiction, a great instrument of vengeance and policy employed at that time by the court of Rome. By its execution, a whole nation was of a sudden deprived of all exterior exercise of its religion; the altars were despoiled of their ornaments; the crosses, relics, images, statues of the saints were laid on the ground and covered up; the bells were removed from the steeples; mass was celebrated with shut doors, and none but the priests were admitted to

it; the laity partook of no religious rite, except baptism to new-born infants, and the communion to the dying; the dead were not interred in consecrated ground; they were thrown into ditches, or buried in common fields, and their obsequies were not attended with prayers or any hallowed ceremony; marriage was celebrated in church yards, the people were prohibited the use of meat as in Lent, or times of the highest penance; they were debarred from all pleasures and entertainments, and forbidden even to salute each other, to shave their beards, and give any decent attention to their person and apparel.

The king, opposing temporal to spiritual terrors, confiscated immediately from his own authority, the estates of all the clergy who obeyed the interdict, banished the prelates, confined the monks into their convent with a very scanty allowance, treated with the utmost rigour all Langton's adherents, and every one that showed any disposition to obey the commands of Rome; and, to expose the clergy both to reproach and ridicule, he threw into prison all their concubines, and required high fines as the price of their liberty.

During this violent contention which increased the king's natural propensity to tyranny, he attempted to make a diversion to the discontents of the people, by military expeditions against Scotland, against Ireland, and against the Welch; in which he commonly prevailed, more from the weakness of his enemies than from his own vigour or abilities. Meanwhile, he more and more alienated, and wantonly disgusted all orders of men, especially his nobles, whose families he dishonoured by his licentious amours. He published edicts prohibiting them from hunting feathered game, ordering all the hedges and fences near his forests to be levelled, that his deer might have more ready access to the fields for pasture, and



he continually loaded the nation with arbitrary impositions.

*Ann.* 1209, 1210, 1211.

The sentence of excommunication is fulminated against the king. The bishops, finding themselves exposed either to his jealousy or to the hatred of the people, take refuge on the continent. Many of the nobility imitate the example or go into voluntary exile. John, alarmed at his situation, desires a conference with Langton at Dover, offers to acknowledge him as primate, to submit to the Pope, to restore the exiled clergy, to pay them a limited sum as a compensation for the rents of their confiscated estates. Langton, not satisfied with these concessions, proposes conditions so exorbitant, that the king breaks off the conference.

The hour of dinner at that time even at court and in the families of the greatest barons, was at nine in the forenoon, and that of supper at five in the afternoon, according to the following verses which were then often repeated :

To rise at five, to dine at nine,  
To sup at five, to bed at nine,  
Makes a man live to ninety-nine.

Lever à cinq, dinner à neuf,  
Souper à cinq, coucher à neuf,  
Fait vivre d'ans nonante neuf.

*Ann.* 1212, 1213.

Innocent issues a third sentence to absolve John's subjects from their oath of fidelity and allegiance, and to declare every one excommunicated who had any commerce with him in public or in private, at his table, in his council, or even in private conver-

sation. But as John still persevered in his contumacy, there remained nothing but the sentence of deposition, which Innocent determined to issue; but as it required an armed force to have it executed, the Pope applied for it to the king of France, and offered him, besides the remission of all his sins and endless spiritual benefits, the property and possession of the kingdom of England, as a reward for his labour.

Philip accepted this liberal offer, and accordingly, collected a fleet of one thousand seven hundred vessels, great and small, in the sea ports of Normandy and Picardy, summoned all the vassals of the crown to attend him at Rouen, and prepared a force adequate to the greatness of the enterprise. John, on the other hand summoned all his military tenants to attend him at Dover. A great number appeared, out of which he selected an army of sixty thousand men, a sufficient number indeed, but not to be relied on by a prince so generally hated and despised.

It had not escaped the policy of the Pope, that he would derive more advantages from his agreement with a prince so abject both in character and fortune, than from his alliance with a great and victorious monarch, who, having nothing else left to conquer, might convert his power against his benefactor. Therefore, the legate Pandolph, appointed by the Pope to head this important expedition, was secretly commissioned by his holiness to admit of John's submission in case it should be offered, and had confidential instructions about the terms which would be proper for him to impose. In consequence of this, Pandolph passed through France, where he beheld Philip's great armament ready to set sail, and highly commended that monarch's zeal and expedition. From thence he went to Dover, had a conference with the king, and represented to

him with so much energy the dangers of his situation, that he subscribed to all the conditions which the legate was pleased to impose upon him. He promised among other articles, that he would submit himself entirely to the judgment of the Pope, acknowledge Langton for primate, restore all the exiled clergy and laity banished on account of the contest, make them full restitution for their goods and compensation for all damages, and instantly consign eight thousand pounds as a part of the payment, and that every one out-lawed or imprisoned for his adherence to the Pope, should immediately be received into grace and favour. In the mean time he passed a charter, in which he said, that not constrained by fear, but of his own free will and by the common advice and consent of his barons, he had, for remission of his own sins and those of his family, resigned England and Ireland to God, to St. Peter and St. Paul, and to Pope Innocent, and to his successors in the apostolic chair; he agreed to hold these dominions as feudatory of the church of Rome, by the annual payment of a thousand marks, seven hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland; and he stipulated, that if he or his successors should ever presume to revoke or infringe this charter, they should instantly, except upon admonition they repented of their offence, forfeit all right to their dominions.

These shameful transactions being over; Pandolph returned to France, and informed Philip that John had returned to obedience under the apostolic see, and even consented to do homage to the Pope for his dominions, and having thus made his kingdom a part of St. Peter's patrimony, had rendered it impossible for any christian prince to attack him, without the most manifest and flagrant impiety. Philip, enraged at being thus over-reached, resolved to prosecute the war in opposition to the Pope and

to all his censures. All his vassals vowed to second his enterprise, except the earl of Flanders, who declared against the impiety of such an undertaking. Philip, who would not leave so dangerous an enemy behind him, first turned his arms against the dominions of that prince. In the mean time, the English admiral attacked the French fleet in their harbours, took three hundred ships and destroyed a hundred more. Philip finding it impossible to prevent the rest from falling into the hands of the enemy, set fire to them, and gave up his enterprise.

John exulting in his present security, thought of no less than invading France in his turn, and recovering his former dominions in that kingdom. He proposed this expedition to his barons, but they refused to second it, pretending that their time of service was elapsed. The king, however, embarked with a few followers, and set sail to Jersey, expecting that the barons would at last be ashamed to stay behind. But finding himself disappointed, he returned to England, and raising some troops, threatened to take vengeance on all his nobles for their desertion and disobedience. The archbishop of Canterbury, who was in a confederacy with the barons, here interposed, and threatened him with a new excommunication, if he thought of such an attempt before the sentence of interdict was repealed, which did not take place until his restitutions towards the clergy was finally settled, and after he had sworn again into the hands of the primate fealty and obedience to Pope Innocent, &c. and engaged that he would re-establish the good laws of his predecessors, particularly those of St. Edward, and abolish the wicked ones.

*Ann.* 1214, 1215.

The king goes over to Poitou, and carries war

into Philip's dominions. He besieges a castle near Angiers, but the approach of Lewis, Philip's son, obliges him to raise the siege with such precipitation that he leaves his tents, machines, and baggage behind him. About the same time, Philip gains a decisive victory at Bovines over the emperor Otho, who had entered France at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand Germans; a glorious victory which increases and consolidates his power and the security of all his dominions. John, conscious of it, returns to England, where the last and most grievous of his misfortunes still awaited him.

The introduction of the feudal law into England by William the Conqueror, had much infringed the liberties, however imperfect, enjoyed by the Anglo-Saxons, and reduced the people to a state of vassalage, and even the greater part of them to a state of real slavery. Henry I. that he might allure the people to give an exclusion to his elder brother, Robert had granted them a charter favourable in many particulars to their liberties; Stephen had renewed the grant; Henry II. had confirmed it; but the concessions of all these princes had still remained without effect. The nation, by a great confederacy, might still vindicate its liberties; and for such an attempt, a more favourable circumstance than that offered by the character, conduct, and fortunes of the reigning prince could never occur. But nothing forwarded this confederacy so much as the concurrence of Langton, archbishop of Canterbury. He had already prepared the way for that great innovation, by inserting the singular clause about the laws of St. Edward in the oath which he administered to the king before he would absolve him from the sentence of excommunication. Soon after in a private meeting of some principal barons in London, he showed them a copy of the charter of Henry I. which he said he had happily found in

a monastery, and he exhorted them to insist on the renewal and observance of it. The barons swore that they would sooner lose their lives than depart from so reasonable a demand.

A more numerous meeting was summoned by Langton, under the colour of devotion at St. Edmonds-bury, where the barons, inflamed by his eloquence and by the sense of their own wrongs, solemnly took an oath before the high altar, to adhere to each other, to insist on their demands, and to make endless war on the king till he should submit to grant them. They came to London on the 6th of January 1215; and demanded of the king, that in consequence of his own oath before the primate as well as in deference to their just rights, he should grant them a renewal of Henry's charter and a confirmation of the laws of St. Edward. The king alarmed at their number and unanimity, required a delay, and promised that at the festival of Easter he would answer their petition.

During this interval, John, in order to break or subdue the league of his barons, endeavoured to avail himself of the ecclesiastical power. He granted accordingly to the clergy a charter, by which he gave up for ever that important prerogative for which his father and all his ancestors had so zealously contended, yielding to them the free election on all vacancies, reserving only the power to issue a *congé d'élire*, and to subjoin a confirmation of the election. He made a vow to lead an army into Palestine, and took on him the cross, expecting to receive from the church the protection he tendered to every one that had entered into this sacred engagement. In the mean time he sent an agent to Rome, in order to appeal to the Pope against the violence of his barons, who were not negligent on their part in endeavouring to engage the Pope in their interests; they dispatched a deputy, who laid

their case before Innocent as their feudal lord, and petitioned him to interpose his authority, and oblige the king to restore and confirm all their just and undoubted privileges.

Innocent beheld with regret these disturbances, and was induced by his own interest to favour John in his pretensions. Therefore, he wrote letters to the prelates, to the nobility, and to the king himself. He exhorted the first to employ their good offices in conciliating peace between the contending parties ; to the second he expressed his disapprobation of their conduct in employing force to extort concessions from their reluctant sovereign ; the last he advised to treat his nobles with indulgence, and to grant them such of their demands as should appear just and reasonable.

About the time that the Pope's letters arrived in England, and on the approach of Easter, the barons finding that the most considerable of the prelates as well as all the inferior clergy, professed the highest approbation of their cause, met by agreement at Stamford, and assembled a force consisting of above two thousand knights, besides their retainers and inferior persons without number. They advanced in a body to Brackley, within five miles of Oxford, where the court then resided ; and they there received a message from the king by the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Pembroke, desiring to know what those liberties were which they so zealously challenged from their sovereign. They delivered to these messengers a schedule containing the chief articles of their demands, which was no sooner shown to the king than he burst into a furious passion, and swore that he would never comply with such exorbitant demands.

The confederated nobles on receiving this reply, chose Robert Fitzwalter for their general, whom they called the *mareschal of the army of God and*

of the Holy Church ; and proceeded without farther ceremony to make war upon the king. They besieged Northampton, took Bedford, and were joyfully received in London. They wrote circular letters to all the nobility and gentlemen who had not yet declared in their favour, and menaced their estates with devastation in case of refusal or delay. In order to show what might be expected from their menaces, they made incursions from London, and laid waste the king's parks and palaces. The barons, who had hitherto carried the semblance of supporting the royal party, were glad of this pretence for openly joining a cause which they always had secretly favoured. The king was left at Odiham in Hampshire, with a poor retinue of only seven knights ; and after trying several expedients to elude the blow, he found himself obliged to submit at discretion. A conference was accordingly appointed, and all things adjusted for this most important treaty.

The ground where the king's commissioners met the barons on the 19th of June 1215, was between Staines and Windsor, at a place called Runnemede ; both sides encamped apart like enemies. After some days, the king, with a facility that seemed suspicious, signed and sealed the charter required of him, a charter which is the bulwark of English liberty, and now goes by the name of *Magna Charta*. This famous deed granted or secured very important privileges to those orders of the kingdom that were already possessed of freedom, namely, to the clergy, the barons, and the gentlemen.

The freedom of election was confirmed to the clergy, as well as the former charter of the king, by which the necessity of a royal *congé d'élire* and confirmation was superseded ; all check upon appeals to Rome was removed by the allowance granted every man to depart the kingdom at plea-



sure ; and the fines to be imposed on the clergy for any offence, were ordered to be proportional to their lay estates, not to their ecclesiastical benefices.

As to the barons, the reliefs of heirs succeeding to a military fee were ascertained ; an earl's and a baron's at a hundred marks, a knight's at a hundred shillings. It was ordained by the charter, that if the heir be a minor, he shall, immediately upon his majority, enter upon his estate without paying any relief ; the king shall not sell his wardship ; he shall levy only reasonable profits upon the estate, without committing waste or hurting the property ; he shall uphold the castles, houses, mills, parks, and ponds ; and if he commit the guardianship of the estate to the sheriff or any other, he shall previously oblige them to find surety to the same purpose. During the minority of a baron while his lands are in wardship, and are not in his own possession, no debt which he owes to the Jews shall bear any interest. Heirs shall be married without disparagement ; and before the marriage be contracted, the nearest relations of the persons shall be informed of it. A widow, without paying any relief, shall enter upon her dower, the third part of her husband's rents ; she shall not be compelled to marry so long as she chooses to continue single ; she shall only give security never to marry without her lord's consent. The king shall not claim the wardship of any minor who holds lands by military tenure of a baron, on pretence that he also holds lands of the crown by soccage or any other tenure. Rentages shall be estimated at the same rate as in the time of Henry I. and no rentage or aid shall be imposed but by the great council of the kingdom, except in the three general feudal cases ; the king's captivity, the knighting of his eldest son, and the marrying of his eldest daughter. The prelates, earls, and great

barons shall be called to this great council, each by a particular writ; the lesser barons by a general summons of the sheriff. The king shall not seize any baron's land for a debt to the crown, if the baron possess goods and chattels sufficient to discharge the debt. No man shall be obliged to perform more service for his fee than he is bound to by his tenure. No governor or constable of a castle shall oblige any knight to give money for castle-guard, if the knight be willing to perform the service in person or by another able-bodied man; and if the knight be in the field himself by the king's command, he shall be exempted from all other service of this nature. No vassal shall be allowed to sell so much of his land as to incapacitate himself from performing his service to his lord.

It was ordained that all these privileges and immunities granted to the barons against the king, should be extended by the barons to their inferior vassals. The king bound himself not to grant any writ empowering a baron to levy aids from his vassals, except in the three feudal cases. One weight and one measure shall be established throughout the kingdom. Merchants shall be allowed to transact all business without being exposed to any arbitrary tolls and impositions; they and all freemen shall be allowed to go out of the kingdom, and return to it at pleasure; London, and all cities and burghs, shall preserve their ancient liberties, immunities, and free customs; aids shall not be required of them, but by the consent of the great council; no towns or individuals shall be obliged to make or support bridges, but by ancient custom; the goods of every freeman shall be disposed of according to his will; if he die intestate, his heirs shall succeed to them. No officer of the crown shall take any horses, carts, or wood without the

consent of the owner. The king's courts of justice shall be stationary, and shall no longer follow his person; they shall be open to every one; and justice shall no longer be sold, refused, or delayed by them. Circuits shall be regularly held every year; the inferior tribunals of justice, the county court, the sheriff's turn, and court-leet, shall meet at their appointed time and place; the sheriff shall be incapacitated to hold pleas of the crown, and shall not put any person upon his trial from rumour or suspicion alone, but upon the evidence of lawful witnesses. No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or dispossessed of his free tenement and liberties, or outlawed, or banished, or anywise hurt or injured, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land; and all who suffered otherwise, in this or the two former reigns, shall be restored to their rights and possessions. Every freeman shall be fined in proportion to his fault; and no fine shall be levied on him to his utter ruin: even a villain or rustic shall not by any fine be bereaved of his carts, ploughs, and implements of husbandry.

The barons obliged the king to agree that London should remain in their hands, and the tower be consigned to the custody of the primate, till the 15th of August ensuing, or till the execution of the several articles of the great charter. The king consented likewise that they should choose five-and-twenty members from their own body as the conservators of the public liberties, and no bounds were set to the authority of these men either in extent or duration. If any complaint was made of a violation of the charter, any four of these barons might admonish the king to redress the grievance; if satisfaction was not obtained, they could assemble the whole council of twenty-five, who, in conjunction with the great council, were empowered to

compel him to observe the charter; and in case of resistance might levy war against him, attack his castles, and employ every kind of violence, except against his royal person and that of his queen and children. All men throughout the kingdom were bound under the penalty of confiscation, to swear obedience to the twenty-five barons. The names of these conservators, were, the earls of Clare, Albemarle, Gloucester, Winchester, Hereford, Roger Bigod earl of Norfolk, Robert de Vere earl of Oxford, William Mareschal the younger, Robert Fitzwalter, Gilbert de Clare, Eustace de Vescey, Gilbert Delaval, William de Moubray, Geoffrey de Say, Roger de Mombezon, William de Huntingfield, Robert de Ros, the constable of Chester, William de Aubenie, Richard de Percy, William Malet, John Fitz-Robert, William de Lanvalay, Hugh de Bigod, and Roger de Montfichet.

John seemed to submit passively to all these regulations, however degrading to majesty, and retired to the isle of Wight, as if desirous of hiding his confusion; but he secretly sent emissaries abroad to enlist foreign soldiers, and dispatched a messenger to Rome, to lay before the Pope the great charter he had been compelled to sign, and to complain of the violence which had been imposed upon him. Innocent, considering himself as the feudal lord of the kingdom, issued a bull, in which he annulled and abrogated the whole charter, prohibited the barons from exacting the observance of it, and the king himself from paying any regard to it, absolving him and his subjects from all oaths which they had been constrained to take on that account; and he pronounced a sentence of excommunication against every one who should persevere in maintaining such treasonable and iniquitous pretensions.

The foreign force arriving along with this bull, the king, under sanction of the Pope's decree, re-

called all that he had granted by the great charter, besieged and reduced by famine the castle of Rochester, hanged the garrison, and as no regular opposition was made to the progress of the royal troops, they attacked the manors, parks, and estates of the barons, and spread devastation all over the kingdom.

*Ann. 1216.*

The barons reduced to the most desperate extremity, applied to the court of France, and offered to acknowledge Lewis, the eldest son of Philip, for their sovereign. The Pope's legate interposing his authority, menaced Philip with interdicts and excommunications, if he invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, by attacking a prince who was a vassal, and under the immediate protection of the Holy See. But Philip, being now assured of the obedience of his vassals and more inured to the papal censures, paid little attention to the legate's menaces, and having, for the security of his son, exacted from the barons twenty-five hostages of the most noble birth in the kingdom; he sent over first a small army to the relief of the confederates, then more numerous forces which arrived with Lewis himself at their head.

The first effect of the young prince's appearance in England, was the desertion of John's foreign troops, and of many considerable noblemen of his party. His castles fell daily into the hands of the enemy. But this union between the French and English nobles was of short duration through the imprudence of Lewis, who, on every occasion, showed too visible a preference to the former, which increased the jealousy of the latter to such a degree, that many noblemen deserted again to the party of the king, who was then assembling a considerable

army with a view to make a great effort for his crown; but passing from Lynne to Lincolnshire, his road lay along the sea shore which was overflowed at high water; and not choosing the proper time for his journey, he lost in the inundation all his carriages, treasures, and baggages. He himself escaped with the greatest difficulty. His affliction for this disaster, and vexation for the distracted state of his affairs, threw him into a fever which soon appeared to be dangerous. Next day he was carried in a litter to the castle of Seaford, and from thence removed to Newark, where he died on the 17th of October 1216, in the 49th year of his age and 18th of his reign. He left two legitimate sons, Henry, who succeeded him, and was now nine years of age, and Richard who was about seven. He left also three daughters and many illegitimate children, but none of them were anywise distinguished.

No virtue whatsoever, not a single good action ever atoned for the uninterrupted series of crimes of all sorts which stained the life of this infamous prince, whose character was a monstrous compound of all kind of vices. Among the most remarkable events of his reign, the kingdom put under an interdict in 1208, the excommunication of the king in 1209, his deposition by the Pope in 1212, and the king of France employed by him in carrying the sentence into execution, the subjection of the kingdom of England to the pretended superior sovereignty of the See of Rome, and its strange consequences, are as many surprising and scandalous instances of the inordinate ambition of the Popes at that time as of their despotism. London bridge was finished in this reign. The former bridge was of wood. Maud, the empress, was the first that built a stone bridge in England.

**HENRY III, eighth King from the Conquest.***Ann. 1216 to 1221.*

[Son of John; born October 1, 1207; crowned at Gloucester 1217; and again at Westminster 1219; married Eleanor daughter of the count of Provence, Jan. 24, 1236; died November 16, 1272, at St. Edmunds-bury; aged 65.]

The earl of Pembroke, a nobleman of great worth and valour, who had always faithfully adhered to the late king, being at the time of that prince's death, marshal of England, was by his office at the head of the armies, and consequently, during a state of civil wars and convulsions, at the head of the government. He determined to support the declining interest of the young prince, and his first step was to carry him to Gloucester, where the ceremony of his coronation was immediately performed. As the concurrence of the papal authority was requisite to support the tottering throne, Henry was obliged to swear fealty to the Pope. A general council of the barons was soon after summoned at Bristol, where the earl was chosen guardian to the king, and protector of the realm. His first act was the grant of a new charter of liberties, which contained but very few exceptions from that already extorted from his predecessor. It did not confirm the full privilege of elections in the clergy, nor the liberty of going out of the kingdom without the royal consent; and the obligation to which John had submitted himself of obtaining the consent of the great council before he levied any aids or rentages upon the nation, was omitted. To this charter another was added, as-

certaining the jurisdiction and boundaries of the royal forests, and enacting, that those which had been enclosed since the reign of Henry II. should be again restored to the people. Offences on the forests were no longer declared to be capital, but punishable by milder laws; and all the proprietors of land were granted a power of cutting and using their own wood at pleasure. Pembroke wrote letters in the king's name to all the malcontent barons, assuring them of his resolution to govern them by their own charters, and representing the danger of their adherence to a foreign prince. These considerations, enforced by the character of honour and constancy which Pembroke had ever maintained, had a mighty influence on the barons, many of whom openly returned to their duty, and some others began to negotiate. Though Lewis made a journey to France, and brought over succours from that kingdom, his party began to lose ground every day by the desertion of some of his most powerful leaders. His army was totally routed at Lincoln, the commander in chief was killed, and several of the rest were made prisoners. In the mean time the French fleet bringing over new reinforcements of men and money, was attacked by the English, and repulsed with considerable loss. D'Albiny, who commanded the English fleet, is said to have practised a stratagem against them, to which he owed his victory. Having got the wind of the French, he ordered his men to throw quick lime in the faces of the enemy, which blinding them, they were disabled from further defence.

After this second misfortune, Lewis concluded a peace with Pembroke. Thus, a civil war, which threatened the kingdom with the most fatal consequences, was happily and speedily terminated through the wisdom and abilities of the protector. He received the rebellious barons into favour, and



restored them to their possessions; but he could do nothing in favour of the clergy, who had adhered to Lewis, as they had rebelled against their spiritual sovereign, by disregarding the interdict and excommunication. Many of them were deposed, many suspended, and some banished by the Pope's legate; and all who escaped such a punishment, made atonement for their offence by paying large sums to him.

The earl of Pembroke did not long survive the pacification, and he was succeeded in the government by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary. The councils of the latter were chiefly followed, and he would have been every way worthy of filling the place of Pembroke, had he united to the virtues of that nobleman that military reputation and ascendancy which was more necessary than ever to overawe the licentious and powerful barons, who could ill be restrained by law under a minority. They retained by force the royal castles committed to their custody, or which they had seized during the past convulsions; they usurped the king's demesnes, oppressed their vassals, and infested their weaker neighbours; they invited all disorderly people to enter into their retinue, and gave them protection in all their robberies and extortions.

The earl of Albemarle was the foremost among these violent and rebellious nobles; he entered into a secret confederacy with many other barons, fortified the castle of Biham for his defence, and took by surprise that of Fotheringay. Pandolph, the Pope's legate, was active in suppressing this rebellion; and with the concurrence of eleven bishops, he pronounced the sentence of excommunication against Albemarle and his adherents; an army was levied; a scutage was imposed on all the military tenants. Albemarle's associates gradually deserted

him ; he was soon obliged to sue for mercy, received a pardon, and was restored to his whole estate.

This impolitic lenity encouraged Faukes de Breauté to persevere in his rebellion. Thirty-five verdicts had been at one time issued against him on account of his violent expulsion of so many freeholders from their possessions ; he came to the court of justice with an armed force, seized the judge who had pronounced the verdicts, and imprisoned him in Bedford-castle. He then levied open war against the king ; but being subdued and taken prisoner, his life was granted him : his estate was confiscated, and he was banished the kingdom.

*Ann. 1222 to 1226.*

The great charter is renewed and confirmed in a parliament summoned at Oxford, (for the great council began at this period to receive that appellation, which many centuries before had been adopted in France, for the king's councils, which were likewise occasionally called synods, when the questions to be decided related to ecclesiastical matters.)

As a law in those times seemed to lose its validity, if not frequently renewed, a new confirmation of the great charter was demanded and obtained, and an aid amounting to the fifteenth of all moveables was granted, by the parliament in return for this indulgence. In the writs issued to enjoin the observance of the charter, it was enacted by a remarkable clause, that those who did not pay the fifteenth, should not for the future be entitled to the benefit of those liberties.

The Pope issues a bull, declaring the king to be of full age, and entitled to exercise in person all the

acts of royalty. In consequence of this declaration, Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary, resigns into the hands of the king the two important fortresses which had been entrusted to his custody, and requires the other barons to imitate his example. They refuse compliance, enter into new conspiracies, and meet in arms. The primate and the prelates finding every thing tending towards a civil war, interpose with their authority, and threaten the barons with excommunication, if they persist in detaining the king's castles. This menace at last prevailed; most of the fortresses were surrendered. There are said to have been eleven hundred and fifteen castles at that time in England.

Besides these intestine commotions, Henry was obliged to carry on war in France, where Lewis VIII. who had succeeded to his father Philip, instead of complying with Henry's claim, who demanded the restitution of Normandy and the other provinces wrested from England, made an irruption into Poitou, and took the towns of Niort, St. John d'Angely, la Rochelle, the provinces of Limousin, Perigord, pays d'Aunis, and all the territories belonging to England, as far as the right bank of Garonne. Henry sent over his uncle, the earl of Salisbury, together with his brother prince Richard. They stopped the progress of the French armies, and retained the Poitevin and Gascon vassals in their allegiance, the more easily that Lewis VIII. was persuaded by the Pope to employ at that time a great part of his troops against the Albigenes.

*Ann. 1227 to 1235.*

A contest of the king with his brother Richard, who had unjustly expelled an inferior baron from his manor. The king insists upon his restoring

him; Richard refuses, assembles an army, which the king had not the power or courage to resist, and he condescended to mollify the resentment of his brother, by grants of much greater importance than the manor which had been the first ground of the quarrel.

Hubert de Burgh was the ablest and most faithful minister that Henry ever had; yet he discarded him in a sudden caprice, and exposed him to the violent persecution of his enemies. Hubert took sanctuary in a church; the king ordered him to be dragged thence: he recalled those orders, and afterwards renewed them; but he was obliged by the clergy to restore him to the sanctuary: he constrained him soon after to surrender himself prisoner, and confined him in the castle of Devizes, whence Hubert made his escape, and though he afterwards obtained the king's pardon, he never showed any inclination to encounter future dangers in his service.

As the fate of weak princes is to be always governed by favourites, the place of Hubert was soon supplied by Peter de Roches, bishop of Winchester, a Poitevin by birth, and who was no less distinguished by his arbitrary principles and violent conduct, than by his courage and abilities. In prosecution of his advice, the king invited over a great number of Poitevins and other foreigners, who, he believed, would be useful to counterbalance the great power of the nobility. The barons, incensed at seeing every office and command bestowed on these strangers, withdrew from parliament. When again summoned to attend, they gave for answer, that the king should dismiss his foreigners, otherwise they would drive both him and them out of the kingdom, and put the crown on another head more worthy to wear it. But the bishop of Winchester found means of sowing dissension among

the confederates, and of bringing over to his party the most powerful of them. The estates of the more obnoxious barons were confiscated without legal sentence or trial by their peers, and were bestowed on the Poitevins.

The archbishop of Canterbury comes to court, attended by many other prelates, and represents to the king the pernicious measures embraced by the bishop of Winchester, the discontents of the people, and requires the dismissal of the minister and his associates, and threatens Henry with excommunication in case of his refusal. The bishop of Winchester was not only dismissed, but banished with all his countrymen, and the natives were restored to their place in council.

*Ann. 1236 to 1252.*

The king marries Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, and soon after is surrounded by a great number of Provençals and Savoyards, on whom he imprudently lavishes the most unbounded liberalities. The bishop of Valence, a maternal uncle to the queen, is appointed his chief minister, and employs every art to amass wealth for himself and his relations. On his finding that the source of Henry's bounty began to fail, he applies to Rome, and obtains a bull, permitting the king to resume all past grants, and absolving him from the oath he had taken to maintain them. The opposition made to the intended resumption, prevented its taking place. About the same time, he published in England, the sentence of excommunication pronounced against the emperor Frederic, his brother-in-law; and said in excuse, that being the Pope's vassal, he was obliged by his allegiance to obey all the commands of his holiness.

The king's mother, Isabella, who had been un-

justly taken by the late king from the count de la Marche, to whom she was betrothed, was no sooner a widow, than she married that nobleman, and she had borne him four sons, whom she sent over to England, to pay a visit to their brother. The good-natured disposition of Henry was moved at the sight of such near relations; and he considered neither his own circumstances nor the inclination of his people in the honours and riches which he conferred upon them, little minding some arbitrary exertions of prerogative to which his necessities drove him. As the parliament often refused him supplies in a manner somewhat rude and indecent, he obliged his opulent subjects, particularly the citizens of London, to grant him loans of money, which he was not very punctual in repaying; and demanded benevolences, or pretended voluntary contributions, from his nobility and prelates.

The king's prodigality towards his brothers and their favourites, would have appeared more tolerable to the English, had any thing been done in the mean time for the honour of the nation, or had Henry's enterprises in foreign countries been attended with any advantage; but he was unsuccessful in his expedition into Guienne, as well as in the war he declared against Lewis IX. and being worsted at Taillebourg, he was deserted by his allies, lost what remained to him of Poitou, and was obliged to return disgracefully into England.

*Ann. 1253 to 1257.*

Henry returns into Guienne to protect the country against an invasion of the king of Castile, and succeeds in this expedition; but he involves himself and his nobility in an enormous debt, which both increases their discontent and exposes him to greater danger from their enterprises.

The grievances which the English, during this reign, had reason to complain of, in the civil government, were still less burthensome than those which they suffered from the usurpations and the exactions of the court of Rome. The Pope having, by various acts, obtained the investiture of all livings and prelacies in the kingdom, failed not to fill up every vacancy with his own creatures. At that time, all the principal benefices of the kingdom were conferred on Italians, and were found to amount to sixty thousand marks a year, a sum which exceeded the annual revenue of the crown itself. Mansel, the king's chaplain, is computed to have held at once seven hundred ecclesiastical livings. The people entering into associations, pillaged the barns of the Italian clergy, devastated their fields, and insulted their persons. At last, when Innocent IV. called a general council at Lyons, the king and nobility sent over agents to complain before the council of the rapacity of the Romish church; and as mention was made of the feudal subjection of England to the Pope, the English agents exclaimed against the pretension, and insisted that king John had no right, without the consent of his barons, to subject the kingdom to so ignominious a servitude. The Popes, indeed, afraid of carrying matters too far against England, seem thenceforth to have little insisted on that pretension. But this check did not stop the exactions of the court of Rome. Innocent claimed the revenues of all vacant benefices, the twentieth of all ecclesiastical revenues without exception, the third of such as exceeded a hundred marks a year; the half of such as were possessed by non-residents, and the goods of all intestate clergymen; he pretended a title to inherit all money gotten by usury; he levied benevolences upon the people; and when the king, contrary to his usual practice, prohibited

these exactions, he was threatened with excommunication. But the most oppressive expedient employed by the Pope, was his engaging Henry in a project for the conquest of Sicily. The Romish church, taking advantage of favourable incidents, had reduced the kingdom of Sicily to the same state of feudal vassalage which she pretended to extend over England, and which she was prevented from maintaining by the high spirit of the English nation.

After the death of the emperor Frederic II. the succession of Sicily devolved to Conradine, his grandson; but Mainfroi, Frederic's natural son, under pretence of governing the kingdom during the minority of the prince, had formed the scheme of establishing his own authority, and was resolved to reject the Pope's pretensions. As the pontiff found that his own force alone was not sufficient to vindicate his claims upon the Sicilian crown, both as superior lord of that particular kingdom, and as vicar of Christ, to whom all the kingdoms of the earth were subjected; he made a tender of it to prince Richard, the king's brother, whose immense riches, he flattered himself would be sufficient to support the military operations against Mainfroi. As Richard had the prudence to refuse the proposal, the Pope applied to the king, and offered him the crown of Sicily for his second son Edmund. Henry, allured by so magnificent a present, accepted it without reflecting on the consequences, and gave the Pope unlimited credit to expend whatever sums he thought necessary for completing the conquest of Sicily. Alexander IV. who succeeded Innocent IV. in the papal chair, continued the same policy, and Henry found himself involved on a sudden in an immense debt of no less than one hundred and thirty-five thousand five hundred and forty-one marks, besides interest. He applied to the parliament for supply; but they refusing to take the king's



demand into consideration, he had recourse to the clergy, and as they could not resist the united authority of both their temporal and spiritual sovereign, they were obliged to comply.

Alexander IV. publishes a crusade for the conquest of Sicily against Mainfroi, whom he represents as a more terrible enemy to the Christian faith than any Saracen ; on that occasion he levied a tenth on all ecclesiastical benefices in England for three years, and gave orders to excommunicate all bishops who made not punctual payment. He granted to the king the goods of intestate clergymen, the revenues of all non-residents, and of vacant benefices. In the mean time the bishop of Hereford, who resided at the court of Rome, by a deputation from the English church, was compelled to draw bills to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand five hundred and forty marks on all the bishops and abbots of the kingdom, and these bills were granted to Italian merchants, who, it was pretended, had advanced money for the service of the war against Mainfroi, and the usual arm of excommunication was employed to enforce this exaction. But the conquest of Sicily was as remote as ever, and the Pope's demands were endless. At last, Henry, sensible of the cheat, gave up all his claims on the Sicilian crown, and resigned it into the hands of the Pope. Prince Richard, who had so prudently refused it, entered now on an enterprise no less expensive and vexatious. His immense opulence having made the German princes cast their eyes on him as a candidate for the empire, he expended vast sums of money to purchase their votes, and so far succeeded as to be chosen king of the Romans (in 1257), which seemed to ensure his succession to the imperial throne. He went over to Germany, carrying with him no less a sum than seven hundred thousand marks : but the vacancy of the imperial

dignity from the death of the emperor Frederic II. continued beyond the fourteen years of Richard's reign in Germany, the greater part of which he passed in England.

The king, reduced to the most critical situation by his absurd expences and partiality to foreigners, applied in vain for aid to the parliament. His demands, far from being complied with, were answered with expostulations and bitter reproaches. At length, his barons, in a parliament assembled at Westminster, in the month of April 1253, consented to grant him a liberal supply on condition that he would renew their charter with more than usual solemnity. All the bishops and abbots were assembled accordingly, with burning tapers in their hands; the Magna Charta was read in their presence, and the denounced sentence of excommunication against all who should infringe upon its decisions; they then put out their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed, "*May the soul of every one who incurs this sentence, so stink and corrupt in Hell.*" The king subjoined, "So help me God: I will keep all these articles inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king, crowned and anointed." The awful ceremony, however, was no sooner finished, than his favourites abusing his weakness, induced him to return to the same arbitrary administration, thereby violating his most solemn obligations.

*Ann. 1258, 1259, 1260.*

Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, attempts an innovation in the government. He was the son of the famous general who commanded against the Albigenes, a sect of enthusiasts that had been destroyed some time before. This nobleman, possessed of power too great for a subject, secretly

aspired to the throne. He had acquired by his insinuation and address a strong interest with the nation, and gained equally the affections of all orders of men. Having at last found his designs ripe for execution, he called a meeting of the most considerable barons, and induced them to enter into a resolution of redressing public grievances, by taking the administration of the government into their own hands.

The first place where this formidable conspiracy discovered itself, was in the parliament-house where the barons appeared in complete armour. The king, on his entry, struck with the unusual appearance, asked them what was their purpose. They submissively replied, that they intended to grant him the supplies he wanted; that they only expected some return for this service; and that as he had frequently made submissions to the parliament, had acknowledged his past errors, and had still allowed himself to be carried into the same path; he must now yield to more strict regulations, and confer authority on those who were able and willing to redress the national grievances.

Henry agreed to their demand, and accordingly summoned another parliament at Oxford, in order to digest the new plan of government, and to elect the persons who were to be entrusted with the chief authority. This parliament, which was afterwards called the mad parliament, met on the day appointed; and as all the barons brought along with them their military vassals, and appeared with an armed force, the king, who had taken no precautions against them, was obliged to submit to all the terms which they were pleased to impose upon him. Twelve barons were selected from among the king's ministers; twelve more were chosen by parliament; and to these twenty-four, unlimited authority was granted to reform the state. Leicester

was at the head of this supreme council, to which the legislative power was in reality transferred. They first ordered that four knights should be chosen by each county, to make enquiry into the grievances of which their neighbourhood had reason to complain, and should attend the ensuing parliament, to inform that assembly of the state of their peculiar counties; a rude out-line of the house of commons, which makes a part of the present constitution. Meanwhile, the twenty-four barons ordained, that three sessions of parliament should be regularly held every year; that a new high-sheriff should be annually elected; that no wards nor castles should be entrusted to foreigners; and that no new warrens or forests should be created, nor the revenues of any counties or hundreds be let to farm. They roused anew the popular clamour against foreigners, and fell with the utmost violence on the king's half brothers, whom Henry was glad to extricate from that danger by banishing them the kingdom.

The subsequent proceedings of the twenty-four barons were sufficient to prove their intention of retaining their arbitrary and aristocratical power as long as they pleased; under pretence that they had not yet digested all the regulations necessary for the reformation of the state. They formed an association among themselves, and swore that they would stand by each other with their lives and fortunes. They displaced all the chief-officers of the crown, the justiciary, the chancellor, the treasurer; and advanced either themselves or their own creatures in these places; even the offices of the king's household were disposed of at their pleasure; the government of all the castles was put into hands in whom they found reason to confide; and the whole power of the state being thus transferred to them, they ventured to impose an oath by which

every subject was obliged to swear, under the penalty of being declared a public enemy, that he would obey all present and future regulations of the twenty-four barons. No one dared to withstand this tyrannical authority. In a word, the twenty-four barons engrossed the whole power and a great part of the revenues of the crown; the king was a mere pageant of state without the least shadow of authority, and the English constitution was entirely changed from a monarchy to an aristocracy or rather an oligarchy.

Not content with the usurpation of the royal power, they introduced an innovation of the utmost importance in the constitution of parliament. They ordained that this assembly should choose a committee of twelve persons, who should, in the intervals of the sessions, possess the authority of the whole parliament, and should attend on a summons the person of the king in all his motions.

The first opposition that was made to these usurpations was from that very power which the barons themselves had created. The knights of the shires, who, for some time had begun to be regularly assembled in a separate house, strongly remonstrated against the slowness of the proceedings of their twenty-four rulers. They represented, that though the king had performed all the conditions required of him, the barons had hitherto done nothing on their part that showed an equal regard for the people; that their own interests and power seemed the only aim of all their decrees; and they even called upon the king's eldest son, prince Edward, to interpose his authority and save the sinking nation. Edward sent a message to the barons, requiring them to bring their undertaking to a speedy conclusion, and fulfil their engagements to the public. Otherwise, he menaced them, that

at the expence of his life, he would oblige them to do their duty.

The barons published at last a new code of ordinances for the reformation of the state; but the expectations of the people were extremely disappointed, when they found that these consisted only of some trivial alterations in the municipal law; and still more, when they heard that the barons pretended that their task was not yet finished, and that they must farther prolong their authority, in order to bring the work of reformation to the desired period.

*Ann.* 1261, 1262, 1263.

The trial by ordeal is abolished by the council.

The current of popularity was now much turned to the side of the crown. The barons had enjoyed the sovereign power nearly three years, and had visibly employed it not for the reformation of the state, but for the aggrandisement of themselves and of their families. The whole nation loudly condemned that breach of trust, the Pope himself beheld it with indignation, and absolved the king and all his subjects from the oath which they had taken to observe the regulations of Oxford. In the mean time, the dissensions of the barons themselves, and particularly the secret desertion of the earl of Gloucester, whose power nearly equalled that of Leicester, who had retired into France, ensured the success of the king's proclamation, in which, after justifying his conduct, he set forth the private ambition and treachery conspicuous in Leicester and his associates; declared that he had resumed the government, and was determined thenceforth to exert the royal authority for the protection of his subjects. He removed all the ministers, governors, sheriffs, and officers of his household

appointed by the barons, and summoned a new parliament, in which the resumption of his authority was ratified with only five dissenting voices ; and the barons, after making one fruitless effort to take the king by surprise at Winchester, were obliged to acquiesce in those new regulations.

The bold and artful Leicester, no way discouraged by the bad success of his past enterprises, formed a confederacy with the prince of Wales, who invaded England with a body of thirty thousand men, Prince Edward repulsed him, and obliged him to take shelter in the mountains of North Wales, when Leicester coming secretly from France, where he still resided, collected all the forces of his party, and joining the malcontent barons already in arms, commenced an open rebellion. One of his principal resources was the populace of the cities, particularly of London, where the mayor, Fitz-Richard, loosened all the bands of government, by which that turbulent city was commonly restrained. The unfortunate Jews were first pillaged without resistance, then massacred to the number of five hundred. The houses of the Lombard bankers, and even of the rich citizens, though English, were attacked by night ; and way was made by sword and by fire to the pillage of their goods, and often to the destruction of their persons.

The violence and fury of Leicester's faction rose to such a height and power, that the king, unable to resist, was obliged to make an accommodation with the barons upon the most disadvantageous terms. He agreed to confirm anew the provisions of Oxford, even those which annihilated his authority, and the barons were re-instated in the sovereignty of the kingdom. They restored their creatures to all the civil and military offices, and summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, to settle more fully their plan of government. They

here produced a new list of twenty-four barons, to whom they proposed that the administration should be entirely committed; and it was enacted by the assembly, that the authority of this Junta should continue not only during the reign of the king, but also during that of prince Edward, who had been taken prisoner by Leicester in a parley at Windsor.

Edward having recovered his liberty by the treaty, exerted all his activity in summoning the king's military vassals from all quarters; one hundred and fifty temporal and fifty spiritual barons were summoned to perform the service due by their tenures. He gained a great part even among those who had first adhered to the cause of the factious barons; and the most warlike parts of the kingdom declared in favour of the royal cause. Hostilities, which were scarcely well composed, were again renewed in every part of England; when the near balance of the parties, joined to the universal clamour of the people, obliged the king and barons to open anew the negotiations for peace, and it was agreed by both sides to submit their differences to Lewis IX. king of France. This illustrious monarch so universally and deservedly revered for his virtues, merited the confidence reposed in him. By an admirable conduct which evinced that his political views were always regulated by justice, he continually interposed his good offices to allay the civil discords of the English, and forwarded all conciliating measures which might give security to both parties; he had even already endeavoured, though in vain, to sooth by persuasion the fierce ambition of the earl of Leicester, and to convince him how much it was his duty to submit peaceably to the authority of his sovereign.



*Ann.* 1264.

Lewis IX. on receiving the solemn appeal submitted to his judgment, and ratified by the oaths and subscriptions of the leaders of both parties, summoned the states of France at Amiens, and in the presence of that assembly, of the king of England and Peter de Montfort, Leicester's son, he brought this great cause to a trial and examination, and declared as his opinion, that the provisions of Oxford, even had they not been extorted by force, nor so exorbitant and subversive of the ancient constitution, were expressly established as a temporary expedient, and could not without breach of trust be rendered perpetual by the barons. He therefore annulled these provisions, restored to the king the possession of his castles, and the power of nomination to the great offices; allowed him to retain what foreigners he pleased in his kingdom, and even to confer on them places of trust and dignity; and in a word, re-established the royal power on the same condition on which it stood before the meeting of the parliament at Oxford; and besides ordering that a general amnesty should be granted for all past offences, he declared, that his award was not anywise meant to derogate from the privileges and liberties which the nation enjoyed by any former concessions or charters of the crown.

This sentence was no sooner known than Leicester and his party determined to reject it, and to have recourse to arms. The king and prince Edward finding a civil war inevitable, assembled a formidable army, and on their approach, Leicester, who besieged Rochester, raised the siege, and retreated to London. Reinforced by a great body of Londoners, he thought himself strong enough to hazard a general battle with the royalists, and conducted his march with such skill and secrecy, that

he had well-nigh surprised them in their quarters at Lewes, in Sussex; but Edward's activity soon repaired this negligence. He led out the king's army to the field in three bodies, and at the head of the van, rushed upon the Londoners, who had demanded the post of honour in leading the rebel army. They were broken in an instant, and pursued four miles off the field of battle with a terrible slaughter. While he was making this imprudent use of his victory, Leicester seeing the royalists thrown into confusion, pushed with all his forces against two bodies commanded by Henry and by his brother, the king of the Romans, defeated them completely, and took the two royal brothers prisoners.

Prince Edward returning victorious from the pursuit, at first endeavoured to inspire his remaining troops with ardour, but being artfully amused by Leicester with a pretended negotiation, he quickly found himself surrounded, and obliged to submit to such terms as the conquerors thought fit to impose. He stipulated, that he and Henry d'Almaine, one of his generals, should surrender themselves prisoners in lieu of the two kings, who were to be released; and that in order to settle fully the terms of agreement, application should be made to the king of France, that he should name six Frenchmen, three prelates and three noblemen, these six to choose two others of their own country, and these two to choose one Englishman, who, in conjunction with them, were to be invested by both parties with full powers to make what regulations they thought proper for the settlement of the kingdom. Leicester accordingly confined the prince and Henry d'Almaine; but he had no sooner in his power the whole royal family than he violated every article of the treaty. He still detained the king in effect a prisoner, and made use of that

prince's name for purposes the most prejudicial to his interests; such as that of disarming all the royalists, changing the governors of all the castles, all the officers of the crown and of the household. He seized the estates of no less than eighteen barons as his share of the spoil gained in the battle of Lewes. He engrossed to himself the ransom of all the prisoners; and to consolidate his authority, an ordinance was there passed, to which the king's consent had been previously extorted, that every act of royal power should be exercised by a council of nine persons, who were to be chosen and removed by the majority of three, namely, Leicester himself, the young earl of Gloucester, and the bishop of Chichester. By this intricate plan of government, the sceptre was really put into Leicester's hands, as the bishop of Chichester, was merely a tool of that haughty nobleman.

In this stretch of power, Leicester was not unaware that he had still to fear all the censures of the Holy See, and the combinations of many foreign states, which, detesting his usurpations and perjuries, favoured all the measures of the queen of England to collect an army of desperate adventurers, with a view of bringing relief to her unfortunate family; he knew that the king of France, disgusted at the English barons who had rejected his award, supported all her enterprises, and was generally believed to be making preparations for the same purpose. Thus Leicester found himself placed between two extremities equally dangerous; the one to restore Henry to the throne, the other to ascend it himself, and the extraordinary measures he adopted, leave no doubt that he determined for the latter.

*Ann. 1265 to 1269.*

Leicester summonses a new parliament in London, and ordains returns to be made for it, of two

knights for each shire, and what is more remarkable, of deputies from the boroughs, an order of men which had always been regarded as too mean to be admitted in the national councils. This important innovation is considered as the origin of the house of commons in England in its present form; and it is certainly the first time that historians speak of any representation sent to parliament by the boroughs.

The earl of Gloucester, indignant at Leicester's arbitrary conduct, retires from parliament. Their known dissension gives courage to all Leicester's enemies, and to the king's friends. The animosities ready to break out threaten again the kingdom with convulsions and disorders. The sufferings of the royal family are loudly talked of, and as prince Edward was very popular, a general desire is manifested of seeing him again restored to liberty. Leicester finding himself unable to oppose the concurring wishes of the nation, stipulates with that prince that he should order his adherents to deliver up all their castles to the barons, and should swear neither to depart the kingdom during three years, nor introduce into it any foreign forces. The king himself is compelled to take an oath to the same effect, and to pass a charter in confirmation of the treaty of Lewes, and in which he permits his subjects to rise in arms against him if ever he should attempt to infringe it. In consequence of this treaty, prince Edward is introduced in Westminster-hall, and declared free by the barons, but soon finds that he still continues a prisoner at large, watchfully guarded by the emissaries of Leicester.

As Gloucester, on his rupture with the barons, had retired for safety to his estates on the borders of Wales, Leicester followed him with an army to Hereford, continued still to menace and negotiate, and that he might add authority to his cause, he

carried both the king and prince Edward along with him. The earl of Gloucester here concerted with young Edward the manner of procuring that prince's escape. He found means to convey him a horse of extraordinary swiftness, and appointed Roger Mortimer to be ready at hand to attend the prince to a place of safety. Edward, under a pretence of taking the air with some of Leicester's retinue, who were his guards, he proposed that they should run their horses one against the other. When he perceived that he had thus sufficiently tired their horses, he mounted immediately Gloucester's horse, and bid his attendants farewell. They followed him, indeed, for some time, but the appearance of Roger Mortimer with his company put an end to their pursuit.

The royalists secretly prepared for this event, immediately flew to arms; the joy of this gallant prince's deliverance soon procured him an army which Leicester was utterly unable to withstand. As he found himself surrounded by his enemies in a remote quarter of the kingdom, and barred from all communication with his friends by the Severn, whose bridges Edward had broken down; he wrote to his son Simon de Montfort to hasten from London with an army for his relief, and Simon had advanced to Kenilworth with that view; but the prince making a sudden and forced march, surprised him in his camp, dispersed his army, and took many noblemen prisoners. Leicester, ignorant of this event, passed the Severn in boats during Edward's absence, and lay at Evesham in expectation of being joined by his friends from London; when the prince, who availed himself of every favourable opportunity, appeared in the field before him. A battle immediately ensued; Leicester's army being soon broken by the victorious royalists, took to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter.

ter. Leicester himself asking for quarter, was slain in the heat of the action, with his eldest son Henry, Hugh le Despenser, and about an hundred and sixty knights. The old king, who had been purposely placed by the rebels in the front of the battle, being clad in armour, and thereby not known by his friends, received a wound and was in danger of his life; but crying out, "I am Henry of Winchester, your king;" he was saved by his son who flew to his rescue. During that memorable day, Leicester behaved with astonishing intrepidity, and kept up the spirit of the action from two o'clock in the afternoon till nine at night.

This victory proved decisive in favour of the royalists. All the prisoners of that party recovered their liberty; almost all the castles garrisoned by the barons hastened to open their gates to the king. The Isle of Axholme and that of Ely, ventured to make some resistance, but were at last reduced as well as the castle of Dover, by prince Edward.

Adam Gordon, formerly governor of Dunster castle, and very much celebrated for his prodigious strength and great bravery, maintained himself for some time in the forests of Hampshire. Prince Edward marched against him, and attacked his camp. In the ardour of the action he leapt over the trench, attended by a few followers, and thus found himself unexpectedly cut off from the rest of his army. Gordon soon distinguished him, and a single combat began between these two valiant men. It continued doubtful for a long time, but Adam's foot happening to slip, he received a wound, which disabled him from continuing the action, and he remained at the mercy of the conqueror. Edward, as merciful as he was brave, not only granted him his life, but procured him his pardon, and the restitution of his estate, received him into

carried both the king and prince Edward saved by him. The earl of Gloucester here showed to young Edward the manner of procuring the glory of escape. He found means to contrive good was shed extraordinary swiftness, and arranged of the Mont-timer to be ready at hand to execution; and though place of safety. Edward, of Gloucester, attained all in the air with some of his against the king, easy were his guards, he proceeded with them for their lands; their horses one agreed on the most obnoxious received that he had not five years rent of their horses, he mounted

and bid his army London, which had carried farthest him, indeed. animosity against the king, was, after Roger Morrell, restored to most of its liberties and their purses and Fitz-Richard, the mayor, who had

The effect of so much violence, was only punished immediately and imprisonment.

prince The earl of Gloucester, never finding himself properly rewarded for the important service he had rendered by restoring the prince to his liberty; it became almost impossible to content him in his demands. On some new disgust of that kind, his great power tempted him to raise again the flames of rebellion in the kingdom. The mutinous populace of London, at his instigation took to arms; and the prince was obliged to levy an army of thirty thousand men to suppress them. Even this second rebellion did not provoke the king to any act of cruelty; and the earl of Gloucester was only obliged to enter into a bond of twenty thousand marks that he should never again be guilty of rebellion.

*Ann.* 1270.

Prince Edward, finding the state of the kingdom tolerably composed, resolves to undertake an expe-

ion to the Holy Land, and he previously settles  
ate in such a manner as to dread no bad effects  
his absence. As the formidable power and  
disposition of the earl of Gloucester gave  
hensions, he insisted on carrying him  
him, in consequence of a vow which  
eman had made to undertake the same  
He sailed from England with an army ;  
arrived in Lewis's camp before Tunis in Africa,  
here he found that monarch already dead. Prince  
Edward, not discouraged by this event, continued  
his voyage to the Holy Land, where he revived by  
his valour the glory of the English name, and struck  
such terror among the Saracens, that they employed  
an assassin to murder him ; he wounded the prince  
in the arm, but perished in the attempt. Mean-  
while, his absence from England was attended with  
those pernicious consequences which he had en-  
deavoured to prevent. The laws were not exe-  
cuted, the barons oppressed the common people  
with impunity, the populace of London returned  
to their licentiousness ; and the king, unequal to  
the burthen of public affairs, called aloud for his  
gallant son to return. At last, overcome by the  
cares of government and infirmities of age, he visi-  
bly declined, and he died at St. Edmunds-bury on  
the 16th of November 1272, in the 64th year of  
his age and the 56th of his reign ; the longest that  
is to be met with in the English annals. His bro-  
ther, the king of the Romans, died about seven  
months before him.

Henry left two sons, Edward his successor, and  
Edmond earl of Lancaster ; and two daughters,  
Mary queen of Scotland, and Beatrix duchess of  
Britanny.

The most obvious features of Henry's character  
are his meekness, humanity, simplicity, piety, and  
regular attendance on public worship ; with those



favour, and was ever after in a lower him.

Henry enhanced his triumph over on the scaffold; but they fort family, were through his weak sense, those very a parliament would have arisen from consequences for his those who had all the disorders and overturned his throne, had and the hi by the energy and abilities of offender estate.

THE in the neighbourhood of Newcastle. The coal mines discovered towards the end of this reign; the inhabitants of that town obtained a charter, so the people were granted to them a licence to dig coal. This is the first mention of coal in England.

### EDWARD I. Ninth King from the Conquest.

*Ann. 1272 to 1275.*

[Eldest son of Henry III. born June 16, 1239; married Eleanor princess of Castile, 1255; and in his second marriage, Margaret, sister to the king of France, September 12, 1299; succeeded to his father November 16, 1272; crowned at Westminster, August 19, 1274; died in Cumberland, July 7, 1307, aged 68; was buried at Westminster.]

The council apprehending dangerous consequences from the absence of the successor of Henry, hastened to proclaim prince Edward, to swear allegiance to him, and to summon the states of the kingdom. The archbishop of York, the earl of Cornwall, son of Richard king of the Romans, and the earl of Gloucester were appointed guardians of the realm,

and found no opposition whatsoever in the exercise of their authority.

Edward had reached Sicily on his return from the Holy Land, when he received the first intelligence of his father's death, and of his own son John, a boy of six years of age. He bore the last with resignation, but appeared extremely afflicted at the death of his father. The king of Sicily, expressing a surprise at this difference of sentiment, Edward answered, that the death of a son was a loss which he might hope to repair, but that of a father was a loss irreparable.

Edward proceeded homeward; but as he soon heard of the quiet settlement of the kingdom, he was in no hurry to take possession of the throne, and spent nearly a year in France. In his passage by Châlons in Burgundy, he was invited by the prince of that country to a tournament which he was preparing. Edward accepted the invitation, and proposed to hold the field with his knights against all that would enter the lists. He and his retinue were so successful in all the jousts, that the French knights, provoked at their superiority, made a serious attack upon them, which was repulsed, and in which some blood was idly spilt.

Edward went to Châlons from Paris, and did homage to Philip for the dominions which he held in France. Thence he set out for Guienne, and regulated that province, which was in some confusion. At length, he arrived in England amidst the joyful acclamations of his people, and was solemnly crowned at Westminster, by the archbishop of Canterbury. His first care was to correct all the disorders which the loose administration of his father had introduced in every part of government; and he purposed, by an exact distribution of justice and a rigid execution of the laws, to give at once protection to the inferior orders of the state,

and to diminish the arbitrary power of the great, on which their dangerous authority was chiefly founded. Besides enacting several useful statutes in a parliament which he summoned at Westminster, he inspected the conduct of all his magistrates and judges, displaced such as were either negligent or corrupt, and provided them with sufficient force for the execution of justice against all delinquents of every class. As the various kinds of malefactors had become so numerous and so powerful, that the ordinary magistrates were afraid to execute the laws against them, the king had recourse to an extraordinary remedy, which in times of more regular liberty, would have been deemed a great stretch of arbitrary power. It consisted of commissioners making their circuits throughout the counties, inquiring into disorders and crimes of all kinds, and empowered to inflict the proper punishments upon the offenders. These commissioners carried so far their zeal and activity, that the king, after terrifying and dissipating by this tribunal the gangs of disorderly people in the kingdom, found it prudent and necessary to annul the commission, which he never after renewed, though he always considered severity when applied with justice, as the most powerful safeguard for all governments, and therefore as a duty for the sovereign. However, it must be confessed, that the Jews, who, at that time were very numerous in England, did not partake of that equal justice which the king made a boast of distributing.

Edward had been bred up in strong prejudices against the Jews, who were at that time the sole proprietors of money in the kingdom, and hated on account of their riches, their religion, and their usury, which was so little restrained by the then existing laws, that many instances occur of fifty per cent. being paid for money, and there is an edict

of Philip Augustus near the period, limiting the Jews in France to forty-eight per cent. Edward knew, that in the year 1241, his father had arbitrarily exacted from them twenty thousand marks; that one talliage laid upon them in 1243 amounted to sixty thousand marks, a sum equal to the whole yearly revenues of the crown; that the Jew Aaron had been condemned to pay him thirty thousand marks, upon an accusation of forgery; that king John had once demanded ten thousand marks from a Jew of Bristol; and on his refusal, ordered one of his teeth to be drawn every day till he should comply, which he did after having lost seven teeth. Now, on an imputation of adulterating the coin, two hundred and eighty of them were hanged at once in London alone, besides those who suffered in other parts of the kingdom. The houses, lands, and goods of great multitudes were confiscated and sold. Though the arbitrary talliaiges and exactions levied upon them, had yielded a constant and considerable revenue to the crown; Edward resolved to purge the kingdom entirely of that hated race, and to seize to himself at once their whole property. No less than fifteen thousand Jews were at this time robbed of their effects and banished. The state of penury to which the extravagant expences and liberalities of Henry III. had reduced the crown, was probably the cause of these acts of tyranny; but Edward employed also more honourable means of remedying the evil. The strictest frugality ruled the management and distribution of his revenue; he engaged the parliament to vote him a fifteenth of all moveables; the Pope to grant him a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues for three years; and the merchants to consent to a perpetual imposition of half a mark on every sack of wool exported, and a mark on three hundred skins. He also issued commissions to inquire into all encroach-

ments on the royal demesne. The commissioners soon began to carry matters too far against the nobility. Earl Warrenne who had rendered such eminent services in the last reign, being required to show his titles, drew his sword and subjoined, that William the Bastard had not conquered the kingdom for himself alone; his ancestor was a joint adventurer in the enterprise, and he himself was determined to maintain what had from that period remained unquestioned in his family. The king, sensible of the danger, desisted from making farther inquiries of this nature,

*Ann. 1276 to 1285.*

Llewellyn, prince of Wales, had entered into all Leicester's conspiracies against the crown; and employed every means to depress the royal cause, and to promote the success of the barons. Though he had been pardoned in the general accommodation with the vanquished, he maintained a secret correspondence with his former associates, and he even made his addresses to a daughter of the earl of Leicester. Edward, who looked upon him as on the most powerful, and therefore the most obnoxious vassal of the crown, waited for an occasion of subduing entirely the principality of Wales; and Llewellyn offered it to him by his refusing when required to come to England, and do homage to the new king. Edward having sent him repeated summonses to perform the duty of a vassal, obtained a new aid of a fifteenth from parliament, levied an army, and marched out with certain assurance of success. The Welch prince had no other resource but in the inaccessible mountains, which had hitherto protected his forefathers against all attempts of the Saxon and Norman conquerors, and he retired among the hills of Snowden,

resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. But Edward pierced into the heart of the country, explored every road before him, secured every pass behind him, and surrounded the Welch army in its last retreat, trusting to the slow, but sure effects of famine for reducing that people to subjection. Lewellin was thus soon compelled to surrender at discretion, and submit to all the terms imposed upon him by Edward.

This treaty was only of short duration. The oppression exercised by the conqueror, and the indignant pride of the vanquished nation, could not long remain without producing new dissensions. The Welch once more flew to arms, and ravaged the country. When the account of these hostilities was brought to Edward, he assembled a numerous army, and set off with the resolution of making his conquest final and absolute. The situation of the country gave the Welch at first some advantage over one of Edward's captains; but Lewellin being surprised by Mortimer, was defeated and slain in an action, and two thousand of his followers were put to the sword. His brother David, who succeeded him in the principality, was obliged to conceal himself under various disguises, and was at last betrayed in his lurking place to the enemy. Edward sent him in chains to Shrewsbury, and brought him to a formal trial before all the peers of England; he was condemned as a traitor, and the sentence was executed with the utmost severity. He was hanged, drawn, and quartered. All the Welch nobility submitted to the conqueror. The laws of England, with the sheriffs and other magistrates, were established in that principality, which was soon after united to the kingdom of England, and given to the eldest son of the king.

Edward, sensible that nothing kept alive the ideas of military valour and ancient glory so much as the

traditional songs of the people, by the deep impression they made on the minds of the youth, considered the Welch bards as the most dangerous enemies to the solid peace he wanted to establish in his new acquisition; accordingly, he gathered together all these poor wandering songsters, and from a barbarous policy, not uncommon at that time, he ordered them to be put to death.

*Ann. 1286 to 1293.*

Edward, invested with powers from Philip the Fair, king of France, and Alphonso king of Arragon, to settle the difference which had arisen between them about the kingdom of Sicily, went abroad, and the terms of peace which he proposed were agreed on by the two monarchs. During his absence, which lasted above three years, many disorders prevailed in England, both from open violence and from the corruption of justice. His presence stopped the former; but to remedy the latter, he summoned a parliament and brought the judges to a trial. All of them, except two who were clergymen, were convicted, fined, and deposed. The amount of the fine levied upon them exceeded an hundred thousand marks, a sum then sufficient to defray the charges of an expensive war between two great kingdoms.

At that period Alexander III. king of Scotland, died by a fall from his horse, without any descendant, except his grand-daughter Margaret, born of Eric, king of Norway, and of Margaret, Alexander's daughter. This infant princess, through her grandfather's care, had been recognized the lawful heir of the kingdom by the states, and was accordingly acknowledged queen of Scotland. Edward, considering this incident as the most favorable opportunity to unite the whole island into one monarchy

by the marriage of Margaret, with his eldest son, proposed it to the states of Scotland, who readily gave their assent to it. But this project so happily conducted, failed of success by the sudden death of Margaret, and the succession to the crown now became an object of dispute among many powerful pretenders.

The posterity of William, king of Scotland, taken prisoner by Henry II. being all extinct by the death of the late princess Margaret, the right to the crown devolved on the issue of his brother David, earl of Huntingdon, who had left only three daughters; Margaret married to Alan lord of Gallo-way, and now represented by her grandson Baliol; Isabella married to Robert Brus or Bruce, and represented by her son Robert Bruce; and Adama, wife of lord Henry Hastings, represented by her son John Hastings, who pretended, that the kingdom, like many other inheritances, was divisible among the three daughters, and that in right of his mother he had a title to a third of it. Baliol and Bruce united against him, in maintaining that the kingdom was indivisible. But each of them claimed the preference for his own title; Baliol as being sprung from the elder branch, Bruce as being nearer the common stock. All the nobility had taken part on one side or the other, the people followed implicitly their leaders; the two claimants themselves had great power and numerous retainers. Thus, the parliament apprehending that their decision, whatever it might be, would be attended by a civil war, agreed in making a reference to Edward.

To this application the king answered, that he would do strict justice to all parties, and that he was entitled to this authority, not in virtue of the reference made to him, but in his quality of superior and liege lord of the kingdom. He then produced the proofs of this superiority, and required of them



an acknowledgment of it. The Scottish parliament, astonished at so unexpected a pretension, answered only by their silence, which the king interpreting as consent, addressed himself to the several competitors, and previously to his pronouncing sentence, required their acknowledgment of his superiority. Such a requisition made by a martial prince at the head of a powerful army, and only separated from them by a river fordable in many places, was not likely to be resisted, and all the pretenders were equally obsequious on this occasion.

Edward next deliberated on the form of proceeding in the discussion of this great controversy. He ordained, that Baliol, and such of the competitors as adhered to him should choose forty commissioners; Bruce and his adherents forty more; to these, he added twenty-four Englishmen. He ordered these hundred and four commissioners to examine the cause among themselves, and to deliver their report to him, and he promised to give his determination in the ensuing year. Meanwhile, he required to have all the fortresses of Scotland delivered into his hands, to be enabled to put the true heir in possession of the crown without opposition; and this demand was complied with both by the states and by the claimants. Before this assembly broke up, all the prelates and barons there present, swore fealty to Edward, who appointed commissioners to receive a like oath from all the other barons and persons of distinction in Scotland.

Edward, in order to give greater authority to his intended decision, proposed this general question both to the commissioners and to all the celebrated lawyers in Europe; whether a person descended from the elder sister, but farther removed by one degree, were preferable in the succession of kingdoms, fiefs, and other indivisible inheritances, to one descended from the younger sister, but one

degree nearer to the common stock. A uniform answer in the affirmative being returned to the king, he pronounced sentence in favour of Baliol, put him in possession of the kingdom, and restored to him all its fortresses. The further proceeding of Edward soon after evinced, that not content with having established his superiority over Scotland, he aimed also at the absolute sovereignty and dominion of the kingdom. He encouraged all appeals to England; and according to the feudal law, required king Baliol, himself by six different summonses on trivial occasions, to come to London; refused him the privilege of defending his cause by a procurator, and obliged him to appear at the bar of his parliament as a private person. Baliol, highly provoked at these insults, determined at all hazards to shake off a yoke so humiliating and vindicate his liberty. A war which then broke out between France and England, gave him a favourable opportunity for executing his purpose.

That war, in which a great part of Europe was involved, originated in a scuffle for water on the coast of Bayonne, between an English and a Norman seaman; and from the bloody retaliation of the mariners of both nations, the sea became a scene of piracy between them, while the sovereigns, without either seconding or repressing the violence of their subjects, seemed to remain indifferent spectators, until the inhabitants of the English sea ports being informed that a numerous fleet of Norman vessels setting sail to the south, had, in their passage, seized all the English ships they had met with, and hanged the seamen, fitted out a fleet of sixty sail stronger and better manned, attacked the enemy on their return, and after an obstinate battle, put them to rout, and sunk, destroyed, or took the greater part of them. Philip cited the

king as duke of Guienne, to appear in his court at Paris, and answer for these offences.

*Ann.* 1294, 1295.

The king dispatches to Paris his brother Edmund earl of Lancaster, who, having married the queen dowager of Navarre, mother to Jane queen of France, seemed, on account of that alliance, the most proper person for finding expedients to prevent a rupture. The two princesses pretending to interpose with their good offices, told Edmund, that the circumstance the most difficult to adjust with Philip was the point of honour, as he thought himself affronted by the injuries committed against him by his sub-vassals in Guienne, but if Edward would once consent to give him seizin, and possession of that province, he would think his honour fully repaired, would engage to restore Guienne immediately, and would accept of a very easy satisfaction for all the other injuries. Edward, consulting less his usual prudence than his eagerness to forward his favourite project against Scotland, sent his brother orders to sign and execute this treaty; which being done, the king's citation to appear in the court of France was re-called; but Philip was no sooner in possession of Guienne, than the citation was renewed. Edward was condemned for non-appearance, and Guienne, by a formal sentence, was declared to be forfeited and annexed to the crown.

Edward, sensible of the extreme difficulties he should encounter in the recovery of Gascony, where he had not retained a single place in his hands, formed alliances with several princes, who, he projected, should attack France in all quarters, and make a diversion of her forces. In the mean

time, he sent into Guienne an English army, which he completed by emptying the jails of many thousand thieves and robbers, who had been confined for their crimes. The king himself was detained in England by his apprehensions of a Scottish invasion, and, by a rebellion of the Welch, whom he repressed and brought again under subjection. But his alliances on the continent proved as ineffectual in the issue as burdensome to his narrow revenues; and all the towns his army had taken in Gascony, were soon re-taken by Philip's brother, Charles de Valois, who commanded the French armies. Philip, emboldened by these successes, threatened England with an invasion; and troops, by a sudden attempt, took and burnt Dover, but were soon obliged to retire. In the mean time, the French king, in order to make a greater division of the English force, formed a secret alliance with John Baliol, king of Scotland; the commencement of that strict union, which, during many centuries, was maintained by mutual interest between the French and Scottish nations. John confirmed this alliance by stipulating a marriage between his eldest son and the daughter of Charles de Valois.

The expences attending these continual wars, which obliged the king to have frequent recourse to parliament for supplies, introduced gradually the lowest orders of the state into the public councils, and laid the foundation of important changes in the government.

The immense estates conferred by William the Conqueror on his barons and chieftains, did not remain long entire and unimpaired. The landed property was successively shared out into more hands; and those immense baronies were divided either by provisions to younger children, by partitions among co-heirs, by sale, or by escheating to the king, who granted them again in smaller por-

tions. As these new possessors were all immediate vassals of the crown by military tenure, they were by the feudal law, equally entitled with the greatest barons to a seat in the national councils. The distinction between great and small barons being not exactly defined, was left very much to be determined by the discretion of the king and his ministers. It was usual for the prince to require by a particular summons the attendance of a baron in one parliament, and to neglect him in future parliaments, nor was this uncertainty ever complained of as an injury; and as he was acknowledged to be of the same order with the greatest barons, it gave them no surprise to see him take his seat in the great council, whether he appeared of his own accord or by a particular summons from the king. But after the battle of Evesham, a positive law was enacted, prohibiting every baron from appearing in parliament, unless when invited thither by a particular summons; the whole baronage of England held thenceforth their seat by writ, and the important privilege of their tenures was in effect abolished. Only where writs had been regularly continued for some time in one great family, the omission of them would have been regarded as an affront. To exact a regular attendance of all the lesser barons and knights, would have produced confusion and imposed too great a burden upon them. To summon only a few did not entirely serve the king's purpose, because these members having no farther authority than that which attended their personal character, were unable to counterbalance the turbulent resolutions of the more powerful nobility. Therefore, most of the lesser barons were dispensed with attendance in parliament, and in return for this indulgence (for such it was then esteemed) they were required to choose in each county a certain number of their

own body, whose charges they bore, and who, being invested with their confidence, carried with them, of course, the authority of the whole order. The numbers sent up by each county varied at the will of the king; they took their seats among the other peers, as they belonged to that order by their tenure. Their introduction into that house scarcely appeared an innovation, and though it put in the king's power, by varying their number, an absolute influence on the resolutions of the whole parliament, this circumstance was little attended to, in an age when force was still more prevalent than laws, and when a resolution, though taken by the majority of a legal assembly, could not be executed, if it opposed the will of the more powerful minority.

But the king's expence in maintaining a military force being increased beyond what his narrow revenues were able to bear, as the rentages which were accepted in lieu of the personal service of his military tenants had fallen to nothing, and the talliages he might levy upon the inhabitants of royal demesne, as well as the voluntary aids granted by the parliament and clergy, being equally insufficient; Edward saw no other resource for supplying the necessities of the crown than that of imposing taxes; but he found at the same time that he had not power sufficient to enforce any edict of that kind, and that it would be better to smooth the way for his demand, and to obtain the previous consent of the boroughs by solicitations, remonstrances, by laying before them the necessities of the state, and discussing the matter in their presence. For this reason he issued writs to the sheriffs, enjoining them to send to parliament along with two knights of the shire, two deputies from each borough within their county, and these provided with sufficient powers from their community,

to consent in their name to what he and his council should require of them; "*as it is a most equitable rule,*" says he, in his preamble to this writ, "*that what concerns all should be approved of by all, and common dangers be repelled by united efforts:*" a noble and liberal principle which laid the foundation of a free and equitable government by the legal admission of the commons into the parliament, as the precedent of representatives from the boroughs who were summoned by the earl of Leicester, was considered as an act of violent usurpation, and had been discontinued in all subsequent parliaments.

These deputies of the boroughs did not first compose, properly speaking, any essential part of the parliament. They sate apart from the barons and knights, and separated after they had given their consent to the taxes, though the parliament still continued to sit and transact the national business. The union, however, of the representatives of the boroughs, gave gradually more weight to the whole order, and they soon began, in return for the supplies they granted, to prefer petitions to the crown for the redress of their particular grievances; and the king found it difficult to refuse men, whose grants had supported his throne, and to whose assistance he might be again obliged to recur. The commons, however, were still much below the rank of legislators, and it was only under the reign of Edward III. that their assent began to be expressed occasionally in the enacting clauses. The frequent demands of the crown increased their public importance; and as they resembled the knights of the shire in one material point, that of representing particular bodies of men, it no longer appeared unsuitable to unite them together in the same house, and to confound their rights and privileges. Thus, the commons reached at last their present

form; and as the country gentlemen made thenceforwards no scruple of appearing as deputies from the boroughs, the distinction between the members was entirely lost. Such were the means successfully employed by Edward to obtain the supplies he wanted. The barons and knights granted him, without hesitation, an eleventh of their moveables, the burgesses a seventh, and the clergy a fifth, but not without difficulty.

*Ann.* 1296, 1297.

The king being informed of the treaty secretly concluded between John Baliol and Philip, summoned the former to perform the duty of a vassal, and to send him a supply of forces against an invasion from France; he next required that the fortresses of Berwick, Jedburgh, and Roxborough, should be put into his hands as a security during the war; and cited Baliol to appear in an English parliament to be held at Newcastle. None of these demands being complied with, Edward leads an army of thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse into Scotland, crosses the Tweed without opposition, takes Berwick, where above seven thousand of the garrison are put to the sword, and William Douglas the governor taken prisoner. He immediately despatches earl Warrenne with twelve thousand men to lay siege to Dunbar, which, though defended by the flower of the Scottish nobility, surrenders to the king with all its garrison, after a bloody battle, in which the loss of the Scots is said to have amounted to twenty thousand men. The castle of Roxborough is yielded by James, steward of Scotland, and that nobleman, from whom is descended the royal family of Stuart, is obliged to swear fealty to Edward. After a feeble resistance the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling open their



gates to the victor, and complete the submission of the southern parts of the country. Edward prepared to reduce the northern; but the weak and timid Baliol, discontented with his own subjects, and overawed by the English, hastened to make submission to Edward, and solemnly and irrevocably resigned his crown into the hands of that monarch, who, having brought the whole kingdom to a seeming state of tranquillity, returned to the south with his army. There was a stone to which the popular superstition of the Scots paid the highest veneration; all their kings were seated on it for their inauguration; an ancient tradition assured them, that, wherever that stone was placed, their nation should always govern; and it was carefully preserved at Scone, as the true palladium of their monarchy. Edward carried it with him to England, and gave orders to destroy the records, and all those monuments of antiquity which might preserve the memory of the independence of that country. The great seal of Baliol was broken, and that prince carried prisoner to London, where he was confined in the tower. Two years after he was restored to liberty, and submitted to a voluntary banishment in France, where, without making any farther attempts to recover his royalty, he died in a private station.

Edward makes a new attempt upon Guienne, and sends thither an army of seven thousand men, under the command of his brother, who gains at first some advantages, but is soon seized with a distemper, of which he dies at Bayonne. Finding that the distance of that province, frustrated all his efforts against it, Edward purposed to attack France in a quarter where she appeared more vulnerable. With this view, he married his daughter Elizabeth to John earl of Holland, and contracted an alliance with Guy earl of Flanders, to whom he

engaged to pay seventy-five thousand pounds, and projected an invasion with their united forces upon the northern part of France. Such an enterprise required considerable supplies from the parliament; and Edward obtained, without much difficulty from the barons and knights, a new grant of a twelfth of all their moveables, and from the boroughs, that of an eighth; but when a demand was made on the clergy of a fifth of their moveables, they opposed to it a general bull of Pope Boniface VIII. prohibiting all princes from levying any taxes upon the clergy, without his consent, and all clergymen from submitting to such impositions, threatening both of them with excommunication in case of disobedience.

Instead of applying to the Pope for a relaxation of his bull, the king resolved immediately to employ the power in his hands, and told the ecclesiastics, that since they refused to support the civil government, they were not entitled to receive any benefit from it; and would be put accordingly out of the protection of the laws. This vigorous measure was immediately carried into execution. Orders were issued to the judges to receive no cause brought before them by the clergy; to hear and decide all causes in which they were defendants; in short, to do every man justice against them, to do them justice against nobody. They soon found themselves in the most miserable situation. They could not remain in their houses or convents for want of subsistence; if they went abroad in quest of maintenance, they were dismounted, robbed of their horses and clothes, abused by every ruffian, and no redress could be obtained by them for the most violent injury. The spirits of the clergy were at last broken by this harsh treatment; a great part of them submitted to pay the fifth without any farther difficulty. Those who were more afraid of

incurring the censures of the Pope, consented to deposit in some church appointed to them, sums equivalent to the fifth they were to pay, which were to be taken away by the king's officers.

These sums though considerable, being by no means adequate to the king's necessities, he was obliged to recur to arbitrary measures for obtaining a farther supply. He limited the merchants in the quantity of wool to be exported, and forced them to pay him a duty of forty shillings a sack, which was computed to be above the third of the value. He seized all the rest of the wool, as well as all the leather of the kingdom into his hands; he required the sheriffs of each county to supply him with two thousand quarters of wheat, and as many of oats, which he permitted them to seize wherever they could find them; the cattle and other commodities necessary for supplying his army, were laid hold of without the consent of the owners. In order to increase his army, he required the attendance of every proprietor of land possessed of twenty pounds a year, even though he held not of the crown, and was not obliged by his tenure to perform any such service. Though all these goods were levied by the way of loans, and on promise of paying an equivalent whenever the exigencies of the state were less pressing; such arbitrary measures bred murmurs in every order of men, and the great nobility soon gave countenance to these complaints. The first symptoms of this spirit of resistance appeared upon the king's ordering Humphry Bohun the constable, and Roger Bigod the mareschal of England, to take the command of an army that he proposed to send over into Gascony, while he himself intended to make a diversion on the side of Flanders. They refused to obey his commands, alledging that they were only obliged by their office to attend his person in the wars. A violent alter-

cation ensued ; and the king, in the height of his passion, addressing himself to the constable, exclaimed, "*Sir earl, by God, you shall either go or hang.*"—" *By God, sir king,*" replied Bohun, "*I will neither go nor hang.*" And he immediately departed with the mareschal and above thirty other considerable barons. This opposition defeated Edward's scheme for the conquest of Guienne. He found it advisable to proceed with more moderation, and assembled a great number of the nobility in Westminster-hall, to whom he deigned to make an apology for his past conduct. He pleaded the urgent necessities of the crown, his engagements from honour as well as interest to support his foreign allies ; and he promised, if ever he returned in safety, to redress all their grievances, to restore the execution of the laws, and to make all his subjects compensation for the losses they had sustained ; begging them to suspend their animosities, to judge of him by his future conduct, of which he hoped he should be more master ; to remain faithful to his government, or if he perished in the present war, to preserve their allegiance to his son and successor. He then departed for Flanders.

These professions allayed the kindling discontents of the nation. However, the constable and mareschal resolved to take advantage of Edward's absence, and when summoned to attend the ensuing parliament at London, they came attended by a great body of cavalry and infantry, took possession of the city gates, and required, that the two charters should receive a solemn confirmation ; that a clause should be added to secure the nation against all impositions and taxes without consent of parliament ; and that they themselves and their adherents who had refused to attend the king into Flanders, should be pardoned and again received into favour. The

prince of Wales and his council assented to these terms, and the charters were sent over to the king, who, after some hesitation, affixed his seal to them. On his returns, the barons insisted on his confirming again these concessions, which he delayed as long as possible, and when the fears of worse consequences obliged him to comply, he expressly added a salvo for his royal dignity or prerogative, which in effect enervated the whole force of the charters. The earls Bohun, Bigod, and their adherents left the parliament in disgust, and the king was constrained on a future occasion, to grant, without any restriction, a pure and absolute confirmation of those laws. Three knights were appointed to be chosen in each county, and invested with the power of punishing by fine and imprisonment every transgression of the charters. It is computed, that above thirty confirmations of these two charters were at different times required of several kings, and granted by them in full parliament.

The king's embarkation for Flanders had been so long retarded, that he lost the proper season for action, while Philip taking advantage of it, had defeated the Flemings in the battle of Furnes, and had made himself master of Lisle, St. Omer, Courtrai, and Ypres. But Edward, at the head of an army of fifty thousand men, put a stop to his victories, and Philip began to apprehend an invasion of France itself. The king of England, on the other hand, disappointed of assistance from his allies, was desirous of ending, on any honourable terms, a war which diverted his forces from the execution of more important projects. This disposition of both monarchs soon produced a cessation of hostilities for two years, and engaged them to submit their differences to the arbitration of Pope Boniface, *as a private person, not by any right of his pontificate ;*

and the Pope, without seeming to be offended at a clause so mortifying, prepared to give his sentence.

*Ann. 1298 to 1301.*

Boniface brought the two kings to consent that their union should be cemented by a double marriage; that of Edward himself, who was now a widower, with Margaret, Philip's sister, and that of the prince of Wales with Isabella, daughter of that monarch. Philip was prevailed on to restore Guienne to the English, and to abandon his ally the king of Scotland, upon condition that Edward should abandon the earl of Flanders.

Earl Warrenne, who had so much contributed by his valour and military skill to the conquest of Scotland, had been appointed governor of that country, where he was respected and beloved, on account of his justice, prudence, and moderation; but being obliged by the bad state of his health, to retire into England, he left the administration in the hands of Ormesby and Cressingham; the former became notorious for the most vigorous severity, the latter for his meanness and avarice. The bravest and most generous spirits of the nation being thus exasperated to the highest degree against the English government, fled into the woods. Of this number was the celebrated William Wallace, a man endowed with gigantic force of body, with heroic courage of mind, with disinterested magnanimity, incredible patience, and ability to bear hunger, fatigue, and all the severities of the seasons. He soon acquired among those desperate fugitives that authority to which he was so justly entitled. Beginning with small attempts, in which he was always successful, he gradually proceeded to more momentous enterprises. Every day brought ac-

counts of his great actions, and added to the number of his followers all those who thirsted after military fame. Many of the principal barons, and among them, Robert Bruce and sir William Douglas, countenanced his party. He concerted a plan of surprising Ormesby at Scone, and would have succeeded, had not this minister, apprised of his intentions, hastily fled into England.

Warrenne collecting an army of forty thousand men, resolved to suppress the rebellion. He found Wallace encamped at Cambuskenneth, on the opposite banks of the Forth, and being continually urged by Cressingham, he ordered his army to pass a bridge, which lay over the Forth. Wallace allowing such numbers of the English to pass as he thought proper, attacked them before they were fully formed, put them to rout, drove part of them into the river, and destroyed the rest by the sword. Among the slain was Cressingham himself, whose memory was so odious to the Scots, that they flayed his dead body, and made saddles and girths of his skin. Warrenne was obliged again to retire into England.

Edward, who received this intelligence in Flanders when he had concluded his treaty with Philip, hastened over to England, in certain hopes of wiping off this disgrace. He began by appeasing the murmurs of his people, by concessions and promises. He restored to the citizens of London the election of their own magistrates, of which they had been bereaved in the latter part of his father's reign; he ordered strict inquiry to be made concerning all the goods which had been violently seized before his departure, as if he intended to pay the value to the owners; and making public professions of confirming and observing the charters, he regained the general confidence, and through these popular acts, found no difficulty in

collecting the whole military force of England, Wales, and Ireland; he then marched with an army of near a hundred thousand men to the northern frontiers.

The elevation of Wallace, though purchased by his great merit, was the object of envy to the nobility. Wallace himself, sensible of their jealousy, voluntarily resigned his authority, and retained only the command over that body of his followers, who, accustomed to victory under his standard, refused to follow into the field any other leader. The chief power devolved on the steward of Scotland and Cumming of Badenock, men of eminent birth, under whom the great chieftains were more willing to fight for their country. The two Scottish commanders collecting their several forces, fixed their station at Falkirk. Wallace was at the head of a third body which acted under his command.

The king being arrived in sight of the Scots, divided his army also in three bodies, and led them to the attack. The whole Scottish army was broken and put to rout with an immense slaughter, which, according to the relation of the populace, amounted to fifty or sixty thousand men. However exaggerated this statement may be, certain it is, that the Scots never suffered a greater loss in any action.

Wallace's presence of mind enabled him to keep his troops entire, and retiring behind the Carron which protected him from the enemy, he marched leisurely along the banks of that small river, when young Bruce, who served hitherto in the English army, appeared on the opposite banks, and distinguishing the Scottish chief, called out to him and desired a short conference. He here represented to Wallace the fruitless and ruinous enterprise in which he was engaged, and endeavoured to bend his inflexible spirit to submission. But the noble and energetic answer of Wallace made so deep



an impression upon his mind, that opening his eyes to the honourable path he had pointed out to him, he repented of his engagements with Edward, and secretly determined to seize the first opportunity of embracing the cause, however desperate, of his oppressed country.

The English army, after rescuing the southern provinces, was obliged to retire for want of provisions, and left the northern counties in the hands of the natives. The Scots still maintained the contest for liberty, but being fully sensible of the great inferiority of their forces, they endeavoured to procure some assistance by applications to foreign courts. They were rejected by Philip; but were more successful with the court of Rome. Boniface, eagerly seizing that occasion of exerting his authority, wrote a letter to Edward, exhorting him to put a stop to his oppressions on Scotland, and subjoined to his exhortations his own claim to be liege lord of Scotland; a claim which he asserted to be full, entire, and derived from the remotest antiquity, though it had not once been heard of. Edward's reply is still more curious. It begins with a solemn appeal to the *Almighty*, the searcher of hearts, for his own firm persuasion of the justice of his claim concerning his right of superiority over Scotland, *evinced by historical facts, deducted from the period of Brutus the Trojan, who, he said, founded the British monarchy in the age of Ely and Samŭel, &c. &c.*; and no less than one hundred and four barons, assembled in parliament at Lincoln, concurred in maintaining before the Pope under their seals, the validity of these pretensions.

*Ann. 1302 to 1305.*

The Scots choose John Cumming for their regent, and make incursions into the southern coun-

ties. John de Segrave, whom the king had appointed guardian of Scotland, leads an army against them, and sends out his forces in three divisions; one of them was suddenly attacked, and immediately routed by the regent and sir Simon Fraser; the two others experienced successively the same fate. Three victories were thus gained on the same day, and the renown of these great exploits, seconded by the favourable dispositions of the people, soon made the regent master of all the fortresses in the south.

Edward, obliged to begin anew the conquest of Scotland, assembled both a great fleet and a great army, and entering the frontiers of that kingdom, he marched victorious from one extremity to the other, ravaging the open country, reducing all the castles, and receiving the submissions of all the nobility, even those of Cumming the regent. Edward, however, still deemed his conquest incomplete, so long as Wallace was alive; he employed every art to discover his retreat and become master of his person. At last, that hardy warrior was betrayed into his hands by sir John Montieth his friend, whom he had made acquainted with the place of his concealment. He was carried in chains to London, tried as a rebel and traitor, and executed on tower-hill.

The Scots, already disgusted at the great innovations introduced by the sword of a conqueror into their laws and government, were farther enraged at the injustice and cruelty exercised upon Wallace; and it was not long ere a new and more fortunate leader presented himself, and restored them to liberty and independence.

*Ann.* 1306, 1307.

Robert Bruce, the grandson of that Robert who

had been one of the competitors for the crown, had never ceased, since his interview with Wallace, to entertain secretly the most ardent desire of becoming the deliverer of his country. He ventured at last to open his mind to John Cumming, with whom he lived in strict intimacy, and found him, as he imagined, prepossessed with the same sentiments. But on the departure of Bruce, who attended Edward to London, Cumming betrayed his friend, and revealed his secret to the king. Edward did not immediately commit Bruce to custody, because he intended, at the same time, to seize his three brothers who resided in Scotland; and he contented himself with secretly setting spies upon him to watch all his motions. A nobleman of Edward's court, Bruce's intimate friend, was apprized of his danger, but not daring amidst so many jealous eyes, to hold any conversation with him, he tried an expedient to give him warning that it was full time he should make his escape. He sent him by a servant, a pair of gilt spurs and a purse of gold, which he pretended to have borrowed from him; and left it to the sagacity of his friend to discover the meaning of the present. Bruce immediately contrived the means of his escape, and as the ground was at that time covered with snow, he had his horses shod with their shoes inverted, to deceive those who should track his path over the open fields or cross roads through which he purposed to travel. He arrived in a few days at Dumfries, the chief seat of his family interest, where he found a great number of the Scottish nobility assembled, and among them the traitor Cumming. He discovered to them the object of his journey, and represented to them with the greatest energy, that in the desperate extremity to which they were reduced, it were better for them at once to perish like brave men with swords in

their hands than to dread long, and at last undergo the fate of the unfortunate Wallace.

The spirit with which this discourse was delivered, the bold sentiments which it conveyed, assisted by Bruce's manly deportment, and by the graces of his youth, roused all those principles of indignation and revenge with which the Scottish nobles had long been secretly actuated. They accordingly declared their unanimous resolution to second the courage of Bruce, in asserting his and their undoubted rights against their common oppressors. Cumming alone, who had secretly concerted his measures with the king, opposed this general determination by his representations on the great power of England, governed by a prince of such uncommon vigour and abilities. Bruce, already apprized of his perfidy, followed him on the dissolution of the assembly, attacked him in the cloisters of the Grey Friars, and running him through the body, left him for dead. Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick asking him if the traitor was slain; "*I believe so,*" replied Bruce: "*and is that a matter,*" cried Kirkpatrick, "*to be left to conjecture? I will secure him.*" Upon which, he drew his dagger, ran to Cumming, and stabbed him to the heart. The family of Kirkpatrick took for the crest of their arms, which they still wear, a hand with a bloody dagger, and chose for their motto these words, *I will secure him.*

The murder of Cumming affixed the seal to the conspiracy of the Scottish nobles. The genius of the nation roused itself from his present dejection, and Bruce flying to different quarters, excited his partizans to arms, attacked with success the dispersed bodies of the English, got possession of many of the castles, and his authority being acknowledged in most parts of the kingdom, he was

solemnly crowned and inaugurated in the abbey of Scone, by the bishop of St. Andrews.

Edward, incensed to the highest degree at this new rebellion, sent a considerable force into Scotland, under the command of Aymar de Valence, who, falling unexpectedly upon Bruce at Methuen in Perthshire, threw his army into such disorder, as ended in a total defeat. Bruce fought with the most heroic courage, but was at last obliged to yield to superior fortune, and take shelter with a few followers in the western isles. The earl of Athol, sir Simon Fraser, and sir Christopher Seton, who had been taken prisoners, were ordered by Edward to be executed as rebels and traitors. Many other acts of rigour were exercised by him; and he was preparing to enter himself the frontiers at the head of a powerful army, and to make the defenceless Scots the victims of his severity, when he sickened and died at Carlisle, on the 7th of July 1307, enjoining with his last breath his son and successor to prosecute the enterprise, and never desist till he had finally subdued Scotland. He was then in the sixty-ninth year of his age and thirty-fifth of his reign. The parliament he had convened at Carlisle, was composed of eighty-six temporal barons, twenty bishops, and forty-eight abbots.

As a legislator, a politician, and a warlike prince, Edward outvies both his predecessors and his successors. He did more than any of them for the advantage and solid interests of his kingdom. He restored dignity and authority to the government degraded by the weakness of his father. He reduced to its proper bounds the exorbitant power of his turbulent barons. He did not allow them to be any longer the only representatives nor the oppressors of the people, who, being entitled by the king to choose their own deputies, assumed at last, and have since preserved the noble attitude of a great

nation governed by a great monarch. The character of Edward is far, however, from being unexceptionable; it may be said that he maintained the laws much better than he observed them, and more by his authority than by his example; that he too often palliated, by reasons of state or policy, his repeated acts of arbitrary power and injustice, such as the violent plunder and banishment of the Jews, the murder of the Scottish bards, the putting of the whole clergy at once out of the protection of the law, the seizing of all the wool and leather of the kingdom, the subjecting of every man possessed of twenty pounds a year to military service, &c. &c. But the advantages for which the nation will be forever indebted to him, are the justice and importance of all his corrections, extensions, or improvements in the then existing laws, the wise statutes passed under his reign, his settling the jurisdiction of the several courts, establishing the office of justice of the peace, and abstaining from the practice too common before him of interrupting justice by mandates of the privy council. If the great charter never was more frequently violated, it is equally true that it never was more consolidated by any other king. In short, Edward's energy in his resolutions, and in their execution, made him as dreaded by his neighbours, as his wisdom, and the regular order of his administration, made him respected, obeyed, and even revered by his own subjects. Towards the end of his reign, slaves were no more an article of exportation from England.

Edward had by his first wife, Eleanor of Castile, four sons, one of whom only, Edward II. survived, and succeeded him. She also bore him eleven daughters, most of whom died in their infancy; of the surviving, Joan was married to the earl of Gloucester, Margaret to John duke of Brabant, Elizabeth to John earl of Holland. Mary was a nun

at Ambresbury. He had by his second wife, Margaret of France, two sons and a daughter; Thomas created earl of Norfolk and mareschal of England; and Edmund, who was created earl of Kent, by his brother when king. The princess died in her infancy.

### EDWARD II. tenth King from the Conquest.

*Ann. 1307 to 1311.*

[Fourth son of Edward I. born April 25, 1284; was the first prince of Wales, succeeded his father July 7, 1307; married Isabella the daughter of the king of France, 1308; dethroned by the queen, January 13, 1327; murdered Sept. 21, following; buried in St. Peter's church Gloucester; he was forty-three years old.]

This prince ascended the throne in the twenty-third year of his age. He was of an agreeable figure, of a mild and amiable disposition, and as he had never discovered a propensity to any dangerous vice, a general prepossession in his favour prevailed all over the kingdom. But unfortunately, the first acts of his reign showed him to be totally unqualified for his situation. The indefatigable Robert Bruce, far from remaining inactive, had, before the death of the late king, again collected his followers, sallied from his retreat, and obtained by surprise an important advantage over Aymar de Valence, who commanded the English forces. Edward, forgetting the injunctions of his dying father, and having an utter incapacity and equal aversion for all important or even serious business, marched but a little way into Scotland; and without availing himself in the least of the mighty pre-

parations made by the late king to insure the final conquest of that country, he immediately retraced his footsteps, and disbanded his army.

Edward confirmed the inauspicious conjectures then formed of his reign, by recalling one of his favourites, named Piers Gavaston. He was the son of a Gascon knight, who, in reward of his services to the late king, had obtained a place for his son in the household of the prince of Wales. This young man soon insinuated himself into the affections of the prince by his flattery and obsequiousness; but he was utterly destitute of those qualities of heart and understanding which entitle to esteem. He was of an elegant shape, of a fine mien, and easy carriage, and possessed that quickness of wit peculiar to his countrymen; but he was vicious, effeminate, debauched, and trifling to such a degree, that the late king, apprehensive of the consequences of the entire ascendant which Gavaston had gained over young Edward, had banished him the kingdom, and had, before he died, made his son promise never to recal him. But no sooner did he find himself master, than he sent for Gavaston, and, before his arrival, conferred on him the whole earldom of Cornwall, which had sufficed as an appanage for a prince of the blood. He daily loaded him with new honours and riches, married him to his own niece, and seemed to enjoy no pleasure in his royal dignity, but as it enabled him to exalt to the highest splendour this object of his fond affections.

The barons, offended at the superiority of a minion, whose birth, though reputable, they despised as much inferior to their own, did not conceal their discontent, and soon found reasons to gratify their animosity in the character and conduct of the man they hated. Instead of disarming envy by the modesty of his behaviour, Gavaston dis-



played his power and influence with the utmost ostentation. He was vain-glorious, profuse, rapacious, fond of exterior pomp and appearance, and giddy with prosperity. The hatred both of the nobility and common people against him was such, that they never could be prevailed upon to show him the least respect, or call him by any other name than that of *Piers Gavaston*, though a ridiculous proclamation was issued by the king, commanding all men to give him the title of *Earl of Cornwall* in common conversation.

Edward being obliged to go to France to do homage for the duchy of Guienne, and to marry the princess Isabella, to whom he had long been affianced, left Gavaston guardian of the realm, with more ample powers than had been conferred on any former guardian; and on his return with the queen, renewed all the proofs of his attachment to the favourite, of which every one so loudly complained, and bestowed upon him the rich presents which he had received from the king of France at his marriage. The queen being of an imperious and intriguing spirit, soon contracted a violent hatred against the person who had assumed over her husband an influence to which she thought herself best entitled. She was well pleased, therefore, to see a combination of the nobility formed against Gavaston by the earl of Lancaster. The confederated nobles bound themselves by oath to expel Gavaston, and began to put themselves in a warlike posture. The licentiousness of the age broke out in robberies and other disorders, the usual prelude of civil war; the royal authority, despised in the king's hands, and hated in those of Gavaston, became insufficient for the maintenance of peace in the kingdom. A parliament being summoned at Westminster, Lancaster and his party came thither with an armed retinue, and were there enabled to compel the king

to accede to their own terms. They required the banishment of Gavaston, imposed an oath on him never to return, and engaged the bishops to pronounce him excommunicated if he remained any longer in the kingdom. Instead of removing all umbrage by sending him to his own country as was expected, the king appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland, attended him to Bristol in his journey thither, and before his departure conferred on him new lands and riches both in Gascony and England.

The weak monarch, long habituated to his minion, could not live without him, and employed every expedient, lavished his grants; concessions, or promises to soften the opposition of the barons to his return; at length, deeming matters sufficiently prepared for his purpose, he applied to the Pope, and obtained for Gavaston a dispensation from the oath he had been compelled to take. He went down to Chester to receive him on his first landing from Ireland, flew into his arms with transports of joy, and having obtained the formal consent of the barons in parliament to his re-establishment, set no longer any bounds to his extravagant fondness; while Gavaston resuming foolishly his former ostentation and insolence, became more than ever the object of general detestation among the nobility. They first discovered their animosity by absenting themselves from parliament; but finding that this expedient did not answer their purpose, they, contrary to the king's express commands, collected a numerous retinue of armed followers, came to parliament, and compelled Edward to sign a commission, by which the constitution and civil government were totally altered, and the whole authority delegated to twelve persons chosen by themselves. These were to enact ordinances for the advantage of the king and kingdom, and regulation of the king's household; and these ordinances were to

have thenceforth and for ever the force of laws. These commissioners were elected for six months only, at the expiration of which they were to lay down their authority.

This junto accordingly framed their ordinances, and presented them to the king and parliament for their confirmation in the ensuing year. That which chiefly grieved the king, concerned the removal of evil counsellors, by which Gavaston was for ever banished the king's dominions, under penalty, in case of disobedience, of being declared a public enemy. Another ordained, that all the considerable dignities in the household, as well as in the law, revenue, and military government should be for the future appointed by the baronage in parliament. Edward dared not refuse his parliamentary sanction to these ordinances, though they entirely annihilated his authority; but he made a secret protest against them, and removed to York to free himself from the immediate terror of the power of these barons.

*Ann. 1312, 1313.*

The king invites Gavaston back from Flanders, where he had retired, declares his banishment to be illegal, and openly re-instates him in his former trust and authority. This imprudence spreads a general alarm in the kingdom. The barons, highly provoked, raise an army and march to York, where they find the king already removed to Newcastle; they hasten thither, and Edward had just time to escape to Tinmouth, where he embarked and sailed with Gavaston to Scarborough. He left his favourite in that fortress, and marched forwards to York, in hopes of raising an army. The confederates besieged the castle of Scarborough; and Gavaston, sensible of the bad condition of the garrison, was obliged to capitulate and to surrender himself pri-

soner to the earl of Pembroke, who ordered him to be conducted to the castle of Deddington. There he was attacked again by the earl of Warwick, who quickly made himself master of his person, and confined him in his own castle. The earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel were soon apprized of this success, and hastened immediately to Warwick-castle, and ordered the head of the obnoxious favourite to be struck off by the hands of the executioner.

The king's resentment was at first proportioned to his affection for Gavaston, while living. He threatened vengeance on all the nobility who had been active in that bloody scene, and he made preparations for war in all parts of England. But less constant in his enmities than in his friendships, he seemed to have sincerely forgiven them on their stipulating to ask him pardon publicly.

In the mean time, Robert Bruce supplying his defect of strength by superior vigour and abilities, had left his fastnesses, and made himself entirely master of the high country, making deep impression on all his enemies, foreign and domestic. He daily gained some new accession of territory, and what was a more important acquisition, he reconciled the minds of the nobility to his dominion. Sir James Douglas, in whom commenced the greatness and renown of that warlike family, seconded him in all his enterprises. Edward Bruce, Robert's own brother, distinguished himself by acts of valour, and the whole kingdom, except a few fortresses, had acknowledged the authority of Robert.

In this situation, Edward granted a truce to Scotland. Robert successfully employed the interval in consolidating his power, and introducing order into the civil government. The truce, ill observed on both sides, was at last openly violated. Robert,

not content with defending himself, made successful inroads into England. Edward, at last roused from his lethargy, marched an army into Scotland. Robert determined not to risk too much against an enemy so far superior, retired again into the mountains. The king advanced beyond Edinburgh, but being destitute of provisions, and ill supported by the English nobility, he was soon obliged to retreat.

*Ann. 1314 to 1320.*

The king calls out all the military force of England, and marches to Scotland at the head of an army of one hundred thousand men, while Robert Bruce had but thirty thousand to oppose him. Both armies met at a place called Bannockburn in Scotland, within two miles of Stirling. Bruce had a hill on his right flank, a bog on his left, and a rivulet in front, on the banks of which, he had commanded deep pits to be dug, with sharp stakes planted in them, and the whole carefully covered over with turf. The onset was made by the English, and a bloody conflict ensued between two bodies of cavalry, where Robert engaged in single combat with Henry de Bohun, at one stroke cleft him to the chin with a battle-axe, in sight of the two armies, which were prevented from continuing the action by the approaching darkness. At the dawn of the ensuing day, the English cavalry renewed the attack; but unexpectedly found themselves entangled among those pits which Bruce had prepared to receive them. The earl of Gloucester, Edward's nephew, was there overthrown and slain. While the English army were alarmed with this unfortunate beginning, they observed a fresh army on the heights towards the left, which seemed preparing to surround them. This was a number of wag-

goners whom Robert had supplied with standards, and ordered to make as formidable an appearance as they could. The stratagem took effect ; a panic seized the English ; they threw down their arms and fled ; they were pursued with great slaughter for the space of ninety miles, till they reached Berwick. Edward himself narrowly escaped by flight to Dunbar, thence he passed by sea to Berwick.

Such was the great and decisive battle of Bannockburn, which secured the independence of Scotland, fixed Bruce on the throne of that kingdom, and may be deemed the greatest overthrow that the English nation, since the Conquest, had ever received ; it made so deep an impression on their minds, that for some years after no superiority of number could induce them to keep the field against the Scots. Robert availed himself of this success, by ravaging without opposition all the northern counties of England. He sent over to Ireland, with an army of six thousand men, his brother Edward, who took the title of king of that island ; he himself followed soon after with a more numerous army. But a grievous famine, which, at that time, desolated both Ireland and Britain, compelled him to return with his forces much diminished, into his own country. His brother, after having experienced a variety of fortune, was defeated and slain. Such was the end of an expedition too extensive for the Scottish force.

The king, defeated by the Scots, and weakened by several insurrections among the Welch and Irish, found his most severe misfortunes at home in the turbulent ambition of his barons, who took advantage of the public calamities to establish their own independence on the ruins of the throne. The king was obliged to submit to the renewal of their ordinances, which re-instated the earl of Lancaster and his faction at the head of the government.

Hugh le Despenser, a young man of English birth, and of a noble family, had succeeded Gavaston in the king's favour: he possessed all the exterior accomplishments which were fitted to engage the weak mind of Edward; but he was destitute of all the qualities which might have mitigated the envy of the great, and mollified them into forbearance.

*Ann. 1321, 1322, 1323.*

Edward's misfortunes increasing his confidence and fondness for his new minion, increased in the same proportion his imprudence in the grants and favours he heaped upon him. He married him to his niece, one of the co-heirs of the earl of Gloucester; he settled upon him very large possessions in Wales, and even unjustly dispossessed John de Mowbray of a barony, which was coveted by his favourite, and conferred it upon him. This transaction excited immediately a civil war. The earls of Lancaster and Hereford flew to arms, and were joined by many other barons with all their forces. They sent a message to the king, requiring him immediately to dismiss or confine young le Despenser; and menacing him in case of refusal with renouncing their allegiance to him, and taking revenge on that minister by their own authority. They scarcely waited for an answer; but immediately fell upon the estates of le Despenser, which they pillaged and destroyed, murdered his servants, drove off his cattle, and burned his houses. They committed like devastations on the estates of his father; and marching to London with all their forces, demanded of the king the banishment of both the Despensers, who were then absent, the father abroad, the son at sea, and both employed in different commissions. The king replied, that

his coronation oath, by which he was bound to observe the law, restrained him from condemning noblemen who were accused of no crime. But the parliament which was then sitting, being intimidated by the menaces and violence of the revolted barons, pronounced a sentence of attainder and perpetual exile against both the Despensers.

This act of violence, in which the king was obliged to acquiesce, rendered his person and his authority so contemptible, that every one thought himself entitled to treat him with neglect. The queen passing soon after by a castle in Kent, which belonged to lord Badlesmere, desired a night's lodging, but was refused admittance, and some of her attendants were killed. The insult upon this princess, who had always heartily joined the barons in their hatred of favourites, excited a general indignation, which enabled the king to assemble an army without giving any umbrage, and take vengeance on the offender, whom no one came to assist. But the king having now some forces on foot, and having concerted his measures with his friends throughout England, he re-called both the Despensers, and attacked his enemies. Lancaster, with all the forces he could assemble, was repulsed, and taken prisoner in a skirmish in which the earl of Hereford was slain. Lancaster himself was sentenced to death by a court martial, and led in the meanest attire on a lean jade, without a bridle, to an eminence near Pomfret, one of his castles, where he was beheaded.

Thus perished Thomas earl of Lancaster, prince of the blood, and one of the most powerful and turbulent barons that had ever been in England. Badlesmere, and about twenty-two of the most notorious offenders, were condemned by a legal trial and executed. Many were thrown into prison, while others made their escape to the continent.



Some of the king's servants were rewarded from the forfeitures; but the greater part was seized by young le Despenser, whose insatiable rapacity in this circumstance, raised against him higher than ever the disgust and aversion of the people as well as of the nobility. The petition of the older Spencer to parliament, complaining of the devastation committed on his lands by the barons, contains some curious particulars relating to the manners of the age. He affirms, that they had ravaged sixty-three manors belonging to him, and states his losses at forty-six thousand pounds, answering to one hundred and thirty-eight thousand pounds of the present money. Among other particulars, he enumerates twenty-eight thousand sheep, one thousand oxen and heifers, one thousand two hundred cows, with their breed for two years; five hundred and sixty cart horses; two thousand hogs, together with six hundred bacons, eighty carcasses of beef, and six hundred muttons in the larder; ten tons of cyder; arms for two hundred men, and other war-like engines and provisions.

*Ann. 1324.*

Charles the Fair, king of France, declares war against England, on account of the resistance opposed by Montpesat to the French troops in their attack of a castle, which he pretended to make a part of the feudal dependance of the duchy of Guienne. After a fruitless embassy of the earl of Kent, the king's brother, queen Isabella obtains permission to go over to Paris, and endeavours to adjust the difference with her brother. Charles insists upon Edward coming over himself to appear in his court, and do homage for the duchy of Guienne. Isabella proposes that Edward should resign the duchy to his son, now thirteen years of

age, and that the prince should come and do the homage, which every vassal owed to his superior lord; and this expedient was immediately adopted on both sides. Young Edward was accordingly sent to Paris; and the ruin, covered under this fatal snare, was never perceived or suspected by any of the English council.

Isabella, on her arrival in France, had there found and kindly received, a great number of English fugitives; and their common hatred of Edward's favourite, had soon begat a secret friendship and correspondence between them and that princess. Among the rest was Roger Mortimer. This youth had in some former insurrection been condemned for high treason, but had the sentence commuted into perpetual imprisonment in the Tower. From thence, however, he had the good fortune to escape into France. The graces of his person and address advanced him quickly in Isabella's affections; he became her confident and counsellor; and gaining ground daily upon her heart, he engaged her to sacrifice at last, to his passion, all the sentiments of honour and of fidelity to her husband. Hating now the man she had injured, she entered ardently in all Mortimer's conspiracies, and having artfully gotten into her hands the heir of the crown, she resolved on the utter ruin of the king and of his favourite. A correspondence was secretly carried on with the malcontent party in England; and when Edward, informed of those alarming circumstances, required her speedily to return with the prince, she publicly replied, that she would never set foot in the kingdom till le Despenser was for ever removed from his presence and councils, a declaration which increased her popularity in England, and threw a decent veil over all her treasonable enterprises. The two king's brothers, the earls of Norfolk and Kent, were both engaged by their sister-in-law, to

countenance the invasion she prepared, and whose sole object, they believed, was the expulsion of the le Despensers. As the French king was ashamed to support openly the queen and her son against the authority of a husband and father, Isabella was obliged to court the alliance of some other foreign potentate. For this purpose, she affianced young Edward with the daughter of the count of Holland and Hainault; and having, by the open assistance of this prince, and the secret protection of her brother, enlisted near three thousand men, she set sail from the harbour of Dord, and landed without opposition on the coast of Suffolk, on the 24th September 1326. The earl of Kent was with her; two other princes of the blood, the earls of Norfolk and of Leicester, joined her with all their followers soon after landing. The bishops of Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, brought her their vassals; even Robert de Watteville, who had been sent by the king to oppose her progress in Suffolk, deserted to her with all his forces. Edward, after trying in vain to rouse the citizens of London to some sense of duty, departed for the west; and immediately after his desertion, the populace broke out into the most criminal excesses. They first plundered, then murdered all those who were obnoxious to them. They seized the virtuous and loyal bishop of Exeter, and having beheaded him, threw his body into the river. They also seized upon the Tower, and entered into a formal association to put to death, without mercy, every one who should dare to oppose the enterprise of queen Isabella and of the prince.

Edward, hotly pursued to Bristol by his own brother the earl of Kent, seconded by the foreign forces under John of Hainault, passed over to Wales, and left old le Despenser governor of the castle of Bristol; but the garrison mutinied against

him, and delivered him into the hands of his enemies. This venerable noble, who had nearly reached his ninetieth year, was instantly, without trial or accusation, condemned to death by the rebellious barons, and hanged on a gibbet : his body was cut to pieces and thrown to the dogs ; his head was sent to Winchester, the place whose title he bore, and it was there exposed on a pole to the insults of the populace.

The king, disappointed anew in his expectations of assistance from the Welch, sailed for Ireland, but being driven back by contrary winds, he endeavoured to conceal himself in the mountains of Wales. He was soon discovered, and confined in the castle of Kenilworth, under the custody of the earl of Leicester. The young le Despenser his favourite, who fell also into the hands of the rebels, was executed like his father, without any appearance of a legal trial. Several other noblemen shared his fate.

The queen, to avail herself of the prevailing delusion, summoned in the king's name a parliament at Westminster, where a charge was drawn up against the king, in which, though it was framed by his most inveterate enemies, nothing but his narrow genius and incapacity were objected to him. However, his deposition was voted by parliament on the 13th of January 1327, without any apparent opposition. The young prince, already declared regent by his party, was placed on the throne, and a deputation was sent to Edward at Kenilworth, to require his resignation, which menaces and terror soon extorted from him. All those circumstances were so odious in themselves, and formed such a complicated scheme of guilt, that the people began to open their eyes, and detest this flagrant infringement of every duty. The suspicions of Isabella's commerce with Mortimer,

confirmed by the proofs which daily broke out of this part of her guilt, excited a general abhorrence against her. In proportion as she became the object of public hatred, the dethroned monarch, who was the victim of her crimes, was regarded with pity, and even with veneration. The earl of Leicester, to whose custody he had been committed, was suspected to entertain more honourable and energetic intentions in his favour. The king, therefore, was taken from his hands, and delivered over to lord Berkeley, and to Montravers and Gournay, who were entrusted alternately, each for a month, with the charge of guarding him. While he was in the custody of Berkeley, he was still treated with the gentleness due to his rank and misfortunes; but when the turn of Montravers and Gournay came, they practised every kind of indignity upon him. It is reported, that one day when Edward was to be shaved, they ordered cold and dirty water to be brought from the ditch for that purpose, and when he desired it to be changed, and was still denied his request, he burst into tears, which bedewed his cheeks, and then he exclaimed, "that in spite of their insolence, he should be shaved with clean and warm water." Mortimer, alarmed at the present state of the public mind, sent them orders instantly to dispatch him; and these ruffians contrived to execute the order with as much barbarity as possible. On the 21st September 1327, they threw him on a bed, held him down violently with a table, which they flung over him, thrust into his fundament a red hot iron, which they inserted through a horn, and thus burned out his bowels without disfiguring his body; but the horrid deed was discovered to all the guards and attendants by the screams with which the agonizing king filled the castle while his bowels were consuming.

Gournay and Montravers were held in general

detestation, and provided for their safety by flying the kingdom. Gournay being seized at Marseilles, was put on board a ship, with a view of carrying him to England, but he was beheaded at sea by secret orders, as was supposed, from some nobles and prelates in England, who were anxious to prevent any discovery which he might make of his accomplices. Montravers concealed himself for several years in Germany; but having found means of rendering some service to Edward III. he received a pardon.

Edward II. had no particular vice, but he was equally destitute of every virtue requisite in those times, for causing his authority to be respected by such a turbulent nation as that he had to govern. His weakness, incapacity, and indolence, were his principal faults, and from them, as has so often been the case, sprung that fatal propensity for favourites, which cost him the loss of his throne, and even of his life in the most excruciating tortures. Instead of so shamefully prostituting this predeliction, had he conferred it upon men of worth generally known and esteemed for their eminent virtues and abilities, his reign, which began under auspices so favourable, would have been as happy for his subjects as for himself. He left two sons, Edward who succeeded him, and John who died young; and two daughters, Jane married to David Bruce, king of Scotland, and Eleanor, married to Reginald, count of Gueldres.

EDWARD III. eleventh King from the Conquest,

[Eldest son of Edward II.; born November 15, 1312; crowned February 1, 1327; married Philippa daughter of the earl of Hainault; died at Richmond, June 21, 1377; aged 65; buried at Westminster.]

*Ann. 1327 to 1330.*

A council of regency, consisting of five bishops and seven lay peers, is appointed by parliament, and the earl of Leicester, now earl of Lancaster, is invested with the office of guardian and protector of the king's person. An army of twenty-five thousand Scots, under the command of the earl of Murray and lord Douglas, threatens an incursion into the northern counties. The English regency assemble an army of sixty thousand men, and invite back John of Hainault and some foreign cavalry whom they had dismissed. Young Edward, burning with a passion for military fame, marched at the head of this army in quest of the enemy, who had already broken into the frontiers, and were laying every thing waste around them.

Murray and Douglas were the most celebrated warriors among the Scots, and their forces were perfectly qualified by their manner of life for that desultory war, which they carried into England. They consisted chiefly of light armed troops, mounted on small horses, which found subsistence every where. Their whole equipage consisted of a bag of oatmeal, which, as a supply in case of necessity, each soldier carried behind him, together with a light plate of iron, on which he immediately baked the meal into a cake in the open fields. Their cookery was equally expeditious; after slaying the

animal, they placed the skin loose, and hanging in the form of a bag upon stakes, they poured water into it, kindled a fire below, and thus made it serve as a cauldron for the boiling of their victuals.

The chief difficulty which Edward met with was to come up with an army so rapid in its marches. He found at last, that they had pitched their camp on the southern banks of the Ware, a ground so well chosen, that it was impracticable, without temerity, to cross the river in their front, and attack them in their present situation. Edward insisted that all hazards should be run rather than allow these ravagers to escape with impunity, but Mortimer's authority prevented the attack; shortly after, Douglas having got the watch-word of the English army, surveyed exactly the situation of their camp, entered it secretly in the night time with a body of two hundred determined soldiers, and advanced to the royal tent, with a view of killing or carrying off the king in the midst of his army. But some of Edward's attendants awaking in that critical moment, made resistance; his chaplain and chamberlain sacrificed their lives for his safety; the king himself, after making a valorous defence, escaped in the dark, and Douglas having lost the greater part of his followers, hastily retreated with the remainder. The Scots being frustrated in their design, decamped without noise in the dead of night, and hastened to their own country. Edward, on entering the place of their encampment, found only six Englishmen, whom the enemy had tied to the trees, after breaking their legs to prevent their carrying any intelligence to their countrymen.

The escape of the Scots was as vexatious to the English army, as the valour of the young king was applauded and admired; but the general displeasure



fell violently on Mortimer, who, being sensible of the growing hatred of the people, thought it prudent, on any terms, to secure peace with Scotland, in order to fix his power more firmly at home. A treaty was accordingly concluded between the two nations, in which England renounced all title to superiority over Scotland, acknowledging Robert as its independent sovereign : and a marriage was stipulated between Jane, Edward's sister, and David Bruce, the son and heir of Robert. In return for these advantages, Robert stipulated the payment of thirty thousand marks to England.

The next step that Mortimer thought necessary for his security was to overawe the princes of the blood (the earls of Norfolk, of Kent, and of Lancaster), whose constant union in their councils gave him great suspicions of their designs against him. He accordingly resolved to sacrifice one of these princes, and the good-natured simplicity of the earl of Kent afforded him an opportunity of practising upon him. He found means by his emissaries to persuade that prince, that his brother king Edward was still alive, and detained in some secret prison. The earl's remorse for the part he had acted against the late king, and his ardent wishes of making some atonement for it, induced him to enter into a design of restoring his brother to liberty, and re-instating him on the throne. After this harmless contrivance had been allowed to proceed a certain length, the earl was seized by Mortimer, accused before the parliament, and condemned to lose his life and fortune. The queen and Mortimer, apprehensive of Edward's lenity towards his uncle, hurried on the execution ; but so general was the affection borne him, that though peers had been easily found to condemn that innocent prince, it was not till the evening of the next day that his enemies could find an executioner to perform the office. He

was beheaded on the 9th of March 1330. His forfeited estates were seized by Mortimer, who mostly converted to his own use the immense fortunes of both le Despencers and their adherents.

These abominable practices could not escape the observation of a prince endowed with so much spirit and judgment as young Edward, who, being now in his eighteenth year, repined at being held in fetters by this audacious minister. But such was his power, that as much precaution as secrecy were required for his overthrow. The queen and Mortimer had chosen the castle of Nottingham for their residence, which was strictly guarded; the gates were locked every evening, and the keys carried to the queen. It was, therefore, agreed between the king and some of his confidential friends among the barons, to seize upon them in this fortress, and for that purpose, sir William Eland, the governor, was induced to admit them by a secret subterraneous passage, which had been formerly contrived for an out-let, but was now buried in rubbish; and Mortimer, without having it in his power to make resistance, was suddenly seized in an apartment adjoining that of the queen. A parliament was immediately summoned for his judgment; and from the supposed notoriety of all the crimes and misdemeanors of which he was accused, he was condemned and hanged on a gibbet at the Elmes, about a mile from London.

*Ann. 1331 to 1336.*

The queen is confined for life to her own house at Risings, near London, and her revenue is reduced to four thousand pounds a year.

Edward issues writs to the judges, enjoining them to administer justice without any regard to arbitrary orders from the ministers; and as the

robbers and murderers had during the course of the public convulsions, multiplied to an enormous degree, and were openly protected by the barons, he exacts from the peers a solemn promise in parliament, that they would break off all connexion with such malefactors. He sets himself in earnest to remedy the evil. Many of these gangs had become so numerous, as to require his own presence to disperse them.

Robert Bruce dies, and is succeeded by his son David, a minor, under the guardianship of the earl of Murray. Edward Baliol, the son of that John Baliol who had been king of Scotland, is persuaded, by promises of assistance from many English barons, to quit his patrimonial estate in Normandy, where he resided, and avail himself of the present circumstances to revive the claims of his family to the crown of Scotland. The interest of the English nobles in that enterprise was the recovery of valuable estates they had in Scotland, and which were to be restored to them according to the last treaty, the performance of which had been always protracted by Robert Bruce on evasive pretences, though he confessed the justice of the claim. These injured nobles applied to Edward for his concurrence and assistance. But many powerful motives preventing him from openly supporting Baliol, he contented himself in encouraging him, connived at his assembling forces in the north, and gave countenance to the nobles who were disposed to join in the attempt.

A force of near two thousand five hundred men was enlisted under Baliol, who landed with it in Scotland, and routed with great slaughter an army ten times more considerable. This victory, which was followed by some others, so intimidated the Scots, that their armies dispersed and disbanded for want of pay and subsistence. Thus the nation was

in effect subdued by a handful of men ; each nobleman submitted to Baliol, who was crowned at Scone ; David, his competitor, was sent over to France, with his betrothed wife, the sister of Edward, and the heads of his party sued for a truce, which Baliol granted them, in order to assemble a parliament in tranquillity, and have his title recognized by the whole Scottish nation. But his imprudence making him dismiss the greater part of his English followers, he was, notwithstanding the truce, attacked of a sudden by sir Archibald Douglas and completely routed, his brother John Baliol was slain, he himself was chased into England in a miserable condition, and thus lost his kingdom by a revolution as rapid as that by which he had acquired it.

Baliol sends a message to the king, offering to acknowledge his superiority, and to renew the homage for his crown. Edwards accepts the offer, assembles an army and marches to Scotland. On the 19th of July, 1333, he meets at Halidownhill, a little north of Berwick, the Scottish army commanded by Douglas, who began the attack, and was immediately killed. On his fall, his army was totally routed and fled in confusion ; the English, but much more the Irish, gave little quarter in the pursuit ; all the principal nobles were slain or taken prisoners ; near thirty thousand of the Scots fell in the action, while the loss of the English amounted only to one knight, one esquire, and thirteen soldiers. The nobles immediately submitted, and Edward, leaving a considerable body with Baliol to complete the conquest, returned with the remainder of his army to England. Baliol being acknowledged king, by a parliament assembled at Edinburgh, recognized again the superiority of England, to which he ceded Dunbar, Berwick, Roxborough, Edinburgh, and all the south east counties of Scot-

land, which were declared to be for ever annexed to the English monarchy.

The Scots were so much disgusted at this deed, that as soon as the English forces were withdrawn, they revolted from Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance under Bruce. Edward assembled again an army, and marched into Scotland; on his approach, the Scots withdrew into their hills and fastnesses, and did not oppose his ravaging and destroying the estates of those he called rebels; but as soon as he retreated, they re-conquered their country. Edward made anew his appearance in Scotland, with like success; and though he marched uncontrouled over the Low Countries, the nation itself was farther than ever from being subdued, and amidst all their calamities, they were encouraged by daily promises of relief from France; they had at least to expect a great diversion of that force which oppressed them, as a war was now likely to break out between France and England.

*Ann.* 1337, 1338, 1339.

Edward introduces the title of duke in England in favour of his eldest son prince Edward, and creates him duke of Cornwall, with great solemnity, in full parliament at Westminster, (March 17, 1337,) by girding him with the sword, and granting him by a patent the title of duke, and several large estates to enable him to support that dignity. He conferred also this high title on his cousin Henry earl of Lancaster, and on two of his own younger sons the princes Lionel and John, at different times.

Robert of Artois, a prince descended from the blood royal of France, had lost the county of Artois, which he claimed as his birth-right by two sentences, both deemed iniquitous, the first issued by Philip the Fair, the last by Philip the Long. Philip

of Valois being the present king of France, Robert, who was his brother-in-law, took advantage of that circumstance to renew his claim, but the new vouchers he employed in support of it were acknowledged to be an evident forgery. He was accordingly summoned four times to appear in the court of parliament to answer the accusation, and on his non-appearance, was banished the kingdom with confiscation of his estates. He came over to England, where he was favourably received by Edward, and admitted into his councils and confidence. Abandoning himself to the impulse of his rage and despair, he endeavoured to persuade Edward, that by the right of his mother, Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, whose three sons, Lewis Hutin, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair, had left no male issue, he had a title to the crown of France, and even flattered him, that it was not impossible for a prince of his valour and abilities to render his claim effectual. Edward, who, a few years ago had entertained the same ideas about his title to the crown of France, was the more disposed to hearken to suggestions of this nature, as he had reasons to complain of Philip's conduct, who detained some places in Guienne, and supported the exiled David Bruce, or at least, encouraged the Scots in their struggles for independence. He accordingly made some preparations for hostilities. Philip, informed of all these circumstances, issued a sentence of felony and attainder against Robert his brother-in-law, and declared, that every vassal of the crown, whether *within* or *without* the kingdom, who gave countenance to that traitor, would be involved in the same sentence; a menace easy to be understood, but insufficient to make the least impression on the haughty mind of Edward. He immediately set on foot several negociations to form alliances in the Low Countries, and on the frontiers

of Germany, the only places from which he either could make an effectual attack upon France, or produce such a diversion as might save the province of Guienne.

James d'Artevelle, a brewer in Ghent, was the man to whom the king addressed himself to bring the Flemings to his interest, and he never courted any ally with so much assiduity and wheedling as he used towards that seditious tradesman, who governed his countrymen with a more absolute sway than any of their sovereigns had ever done. He placed and displaced the magistrates at pleasure; he was accompanied by a guard, who, on the least signal from him, instantly assassinated any man who happened to fall under his displeasure. All the cities of Flanders were full of his spies, and it was immediate death to give him the smallest umbrage. The Flemings, who were vassals of France, affecting scruples with regard to the invasion of their liege lord's territories, Edward, by the advice of d'Artevelle, assumed in his commissions the title of king of France, and in virtue of this right claimed their assistance for dethroning Philip de Valois, the usurper of his kingdom: this pretended usurpation had been indeed lately acknowledged by the emperor of Germany, Lewis V. of Bavaria, in his interview with Edward at Coblenz. The emperor, seated on the throne, which was raised in the middle of the great square, condemned king Philip of Valois to restore the empire to the towns and estates which he held from it, and of which he had not done homage in the usual time; meanwhile he adjudged to the king of England the provinces of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Anjou, as being a part of the ancient dominions of the English crown, and the whole kingdom of France from the right of his mother Isabella. Endless and implacable jealousies have been the consequences of that preten-

sion, which was in itself quite unjustifiable, even if the salic law, or rather the uninterrupted usage which excluded the female branches from the succession to the throne of France, had not existed, as the two last kings, Philip the Long and Charles the Fair, had left daughters, who were still alive, and who stood before the queen Isabella in the order of succession. From this period may be dated the commencement of that great animosity which the English have ever since borne to the French.

Philip made great preparations, and formed powerful alliances against the English. However, Edward entered the enemy's country, and encamped on the fields of Vironfosse, near la Capelle, with an army of nearly fifty thousand men. Philip approached him with an army of nearly double the force. The two armies faced each other for some days, and mutual defiances passed between the two kings, but though the challenges were reciprocally accepted, some obstacles intervening, the war was prosecuted in the usual way. Edward being averse to engage in an action against so great a superiority, retired into Flanders, and disbanded his army, after having contracted three hundred thousand pounds of debts, anticipated all his revenue, and pawned every thing of value which belonged either to himself or his queen.

The king, far from being discouraged by these first difficulties, was anxious to retrieve his honour by a more successful enterprise. He came over to England, summoned a parliament, and on his consenting to grant a confirmation of the two charters, and of the privileges of boroughs, a pardon for old debts and trespasses, and a remedy for some abuses in the execution of common law, he obtained from the barons and knights an unusual grant for two years, of the ninth sheaf, lamb, and fleece on their estates, and from the burgesses, a ninth of the true



value of their moveables. The whole parliament granted him also for the same term of years, a duty of forty shillings on each sack of wool exported, on each three hundred wool-fells, and on each last of leather.

*Ann. 1340, 1341.*

As Philip was apprized, from the preparations which were making both in England and in the Low Countries, that he must expect another invasion from Edward, he fitted out a very considerable fleet, manned with forty thousand men, and he stationed them off l'Ecluse, with a view of intercepting the king in his passage. The English fleet, much inferior in number, gained the wind of the enemy, and had the sun in their back. With these advantages, they began the action. The battle was fierce and bloody. The king, and many gallant nobles who accompanied him, animated to such a degree by their own example the seamen and soldiery, that they maintained everywhere a superiority over the enemy. The French lost two hundred and thirty ships, and had thirty thousand men killed. None of Philip's courtiers, it is said, dared to inform him of the event, till his fool or jester gave him a hint, by which he discovered the loss that he had sustained.

This signal success increased the king's influence over his allies, who assembled their forces with expedition, and joined the English army. Edward marched to the frontiers of France, with an army of above one hundred thousand men, while the Flemings, to the number of fifty thousand, under the command of Robert of Artois, laid siege to St. Omer ; but they were routed by a sally of the garrison, and never more appeared in the field. Edward's enterprises were not so inglorious, but proved

equally vain and fruitless. He laid siege to Tournay, and every assault being repulsed, he was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade. After it had continued ten weeks, Edward, irritated at the small progress he had hitherto made, sent Philip a defiance by a herald, and challenged him to decide their claims for the crown of France, either by single combat, or by an action of a hundred against a hundred, or by a general engagement. But Philip replied, that Edward having done homage to him for the duchy of Guienne, and having solemnly acknowledged him for his superior, it by no means became him to send a defiance to his liege lord and sovereign. The countess dowager of Hainault then interposed with her good offices, and endeavoured to conciliate peace between the contending monarchs, who, at last, concluded a truce, which left both parties in possession of their present acquisitions, and stopped all hostilities. Edward, harassed by his numerous and importunate creditors, was obliged to make his escape by stealth into England, where he found himself in a bad situation, both with his own people and with foreign states.

The parliament took advantage of this circumstance, to exact from the king the most exorbitant concessions, in return for which they offered him a grant of twenty thousand sacks of wool. His wants were so urgent from the clamours of his creditors and the demands of his foreign allies, that he was obliged to accept of the supply on these hard conditions. He ratified this statute in full parliament, but secretly entered a protest, by which he declared, that as soon his convenience permitted, he would, from his own authority, revoke what had been extorted from him. Accordingly, he was no sooner possessed of the parliamentary supply, than he issued an edict, by which, with the advice

of his council, and of some earls and barons, he abrogated and annulled that statute. The parliaments that were afterwards assembled took no notice of this arbitrary exertion, and in the course of two years, Edward had so far re-established his influence, and freed himself from his present necessities, that he then obtained from his parliament a legal repeal of the obnoxious statute.

The king had undergone so many mortifications from his attempts against France, and saw so little prospect of success in any other attack on the side of Germany and the Low Countries, on account of the numerous fortifications which had been raised on that frontier, that he would probably have dropped his claim, had not a revolution in Brittany opened to him more promising views.

John III. duke of Brittany, had no issue, and his younger brother the late count of Penthievre, had left only one daughter, whom the duke deemed his heir, as his family had inherited the duchy by a female succession; he thought accordingly, that his niece's title was preferable to that of the count of Mountfort, his own brother, but of a second marriage, and he purposed to marry her to some person who might be able to defend her rights. He cast his eye on Charles of Blois, nephew of the king of France, by his mother Margaret of Valois, sister to Philip, and having consulted the states of Brittany on that alliance, they willingly concurred in his choice. The marriage being concluded, all the vassals of the duchy, and among the rest the count of Mountfort, swore fealty to Charles and to his consort as to their future sovereigns. But, on the death of duke John, while Charles of Blois was soliciting at the court of France the investiture of the duchy, Mountfort acquired immediate possession of it, by making himself master of the principal towns and fortresses, and engaged many con-

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siderable barons to acknowledge his authority. He then hastened immediately to England, and offering to do homage to Edward as king of France, for the duchy of Brittany, he proposed him a strict alliance for the support of their mutual pretensions. Edward did not hesitate to accept an offer, which besides closely uniting to him by a great interest an active and valiant prince, would open to him an easy entrance into the heart of France.

As this treaty was still a secret, Mountfort, on his return from England, ventured to appear at Paris, in order to defend his cause before the court of peers; but observing Philip and his judges to be prepossessed against his title, he suddenly made his escape, and war immediately commenced between him and Charles of Blois. Philip sent his eldest son, the duke of Normandy, to the assistance of the latter, with a powerful army. Mountfort remained in the city of Nantz, where he was besieged, taken prisoner, conducted to Paris, and shut up in the tower of the Louvre.

*Ann. 1342 to 1345.*

Jane of Flanders, countess of Mountfort, courageously undertakes to support the falling fortunes of her family. She assembles the inhabitants of Rennes, where she then resided, and carrying her infant son in her arms, deplores to them the calamity of their sovereign, recommends to their care the illustrious orphan, the sole male remaining of their ancient princes, who had governed them with such lenity, declares herself willing to run all hazards with them in so just a cause, discovers the resources which still remain in the alliance of England, and begs them to make one effort against an usurper, who, being imposed on them by the arms of France would in return make a sacrifice to his protector

of the ancient liberties of Brittany. The audience, moved and inspired by the noble conduct of the princess, vowed to live and die with her in defending the rights of her family; all the other fortresses of Brittany embraced the same resolution. The countess went from place to place encouraging the garrisons, and after she had put the whole province in a good state of defence, she shut herself up in Hennebond, and sent her son to England, to engage the king by such a pledge to embrace with zeal the interests of her family.

Charles de Blois, anxious to make himself master of so important a fortress as Hennebond, and still more, to take the countess prisoner, besieged the place with a large army. Several sallies were made with success by the garrison, and the countess herself was the most forward in all military operations. Observing one day, that the besiegers, entirely occupied in an attack, had neglected a distant quarter of their camp, she immediately sallied forth at the head of two hundred cavalry, set fire to their tents, baggage, and magazines. But when she was preparing to return, she found that a considerable body of the enemy had thrown themselves between her and the gates. She immediately ordered her men to disband, and to make the best of their way to Brest. She met them at that place, collected another body of five hundred horse, returned to Hennebond, broke unexpectedly through the enemy's camp, and re-entered the town with this reinforcement. The besiegers at length made several breaches in the walls, and it was apprehended, that a general assault, which was hourly expected, would be fatal. A capitulation was therefore proposed, and the conferences were already begun, when the countess, who had mounted to a high tower, descried some sails at a distance. She immediately exclaimed, "*Behold the English succours! No*

*capitulation!*" This fleet had on board a body of heavy armed cavalry, and sixty thousand archers, who entered the harbour, and immediately sallied forth, beat the besiegers from all their posts, and obliged them to decamp. Edward sent her a new reinforcement, under the command of Robert of Artois, who embarked on board a fleet of forty-five ships, and sailed to Brittany. His first exploit was the taking of Vannes, but he survived a very little time this success. The noblemen of the party of Charles de Blois assembled secretly in arms, attacked Vannes of a sudden, and carried the place, chiefly by reason of the wound received by Robert, of which he soon after died at sea on his return to England.

The last truce being now expired, the war which the English and French had hitherto carried on as allies to the competitors of Brittany, was thenceforth conducted in the name and under the standard of the two monarchs. Edward landed in the Morbihan near Vannes, with an army of twelve thousand men, and opened the campaign by besieging at once the three principal towns of Brittany, Nantes, Rennes, and Vannes. But by undertaking too much, he failed of success in this enterprise, and willingly hearkened to the mediation of the Pope's legates. A treaty was agreed on for a cessation of arms during three years, and soon after concluding this treaty, Edward embarked for England, with his army.

The truce was of short duration. The king, having obtained from the parliament the necessary supplies for the renewal of the war, sent the earl of Derby, son of the earl of Lancaster, into Guienne, for the defence of that province. This valiant prince, not content with protecting it, made a successful invasion on the enemy. But after he had rendered himself master of many towns and for-

tresses, Philip sent against him the dukes of Normandy and Burgundy, attended by other great nobility, and leading a powerful army, which the English could not think of resisting in the open field, and were compelled, of course, to stand upon the defensive. After some successes, the duke of Normandy laid siege to Aiguillon, and purposed to reduce it by famine.

Edward, informed of the great danger which threatened Guienne, embarked at Southampton, on board a fleet of near a thousand sail of all dimensions, and carried with him, besides all the chief nobility of England, his eldest son, the prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age, and afterwards called the Black Prince. The contrary winds preventing the king from arriving in time at Guienne, he landed safely at la Hogue, a port in Normandy, destroyed all the ships which were there, as well as those which were at Barfleur and Cherbourg, spread his army over the whole country, and gave them an unbounded licence, of burning, spoiling, and plundering every place of which they became masters.

*Ann. 1346, 1347.*

Philip, on receiving intelligence of this unexpected invasion, issued orders for levying forces in all quarters; but they did not arrive in time to prevent the taking of the rich town of Caen, where the pillage continued for three days. The king reserved for his own share, the jewels, plate, silks, fine cloth, and linen, and he bestowed the remainder of the spoil on his army. The whole was sent over to England, together with three hundred of the richest citizens of Caen, whose ransom was an additional profit. The king moved next to Rouen, but finding, that the bridge over the Seine had been

broken down, he marched along the banks of that river towards Paris, destroying all the towns and villages which he met with on his road. Some of his light troops advanced even near the gates of Paris, and reduced to ashes within sight of the capital, the royal palace of St. Germain, the villages of Nanterre, Ruel, and others. Edward intended to pass the river at Poissy, but found the French army encamped on the opposite side, and the bridge at that place, as well as all others over the Seine, broken down; which indicated, that the French meant to inclose him on all sides in hopes of attacking him with more advantage, but he deceived them by a stratagem; he feigned to advance rapidly farther up the Seine, and immediately returning to Poissy, which the enemy had already quitted to attend his motions; he repaired the bridge with incredible celerity, passed over his army, and having thus disengaged himself, advanced by quick marches towards Flanders. But as he approached the river Somme, he found himself in the same difficulty as before; all the bridges were either broken down or strongly guarded, and a French army, commanded by Godemar de Faye, was stationed on the opposite banks, while Philip was advancing on him with an army of one hundred thousand men. In this extremity, he published a reward to any one that should bring him intelligence of a passage over the Somme; and a peasant informed him of a good ford below Abbeville. He hastened thither, and finding Godemar de Faye on the opposite banks, he deliberated not a moment, but threw himself into the river sword in hand at the head of his troops, drove the enemy from their station, and pursued them to a distance. Philip arrived at the ford when the rear-guard of the English were passing, but the rising of the tide prevented him from following them.

Edward having to fight against an army more



than three times superior in number to his own, chose his ground with advantage on a gentle ascent near the village of Crescy, and determined to await in tranquillity the enemy, in hopes that their eagerness to engage would hurry them on to some rash and ill-concerted action. He divided his army into three lines ; the first was commanded by the prince of Wales ; the second by the earls of Arundel and Northampton, with the lords Willoughby, Basset, Roos, and sir Lewis Tufton. Edward took to himself the command of the third division. It is related by some historians, that he employed a new invention against the enemy, and placed in his front some pieces of artillery, the first that had been made use of on any remarkable occasion in Europe ; a discovery, which changed by degrees the whole art of war, and by consequence, many circumstances in the political government of Europe.

The French army, formed into three lines, arrived in presence of the enemy. The first line, consisting of fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bow-men, was commanded by Anthony Doria and Charles Grimaldy ; the second was led by the count d'Alençon, brother to the king, who was himself at the head of the third. Besides the French monarch, there were no less than three crowned heads in his army ; the king of Bohemia, the king of the Romans, his son, and the king of Minorca.

On the 26th of August 1346, and about three in the afternoon, the famous battle of Crescy began by the French king ordering the charge to his first line. The English archers poured in a shower of arrows upon this multitude, and soon threw them into disorder. The young prince of Wales had the presence of mind to take advantage of this circumstance, to lead on his line to the charge. The earls of Arundel and Northampton now advanced their line to sustain the prince, who, ardent in his first

feats of arms, set an example of valour, which was imitated by all his followers. In the apprehension that some mischance might happen to him, an officer was dispatched to the king, and entreated him to send succours to the relief of the prince. Edward had taken his station on the top of the hill, and he surveyed in tranquillity the scene of action. When the messenger accosted him, his first question was whether the prince was slain or wounded? On receiving an answer in the negative; "*Return,*" said he, "*to my son, and tell him that I reserve the honour of the day to him. I am confident that he will show himself worthy of the honour of knight-hood, which I so lately conferred upon him: he will be able, without my assistance, to repel the enemy.*" This speech being reported to the prince and his attendants, inspired them with fresh courage. Philip advanced in vain to sustain the line commanded by his brother; he found them already discomfited; and the example of their rout increased the confusion. The whole French army taking to flight, was pursued, and put to the sword without any mercy, till the darkness of the night put an end to the pursuit. The king, on his return to the camp, flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, and exclaimed, "*My brave son! persevere in your honourable cause; you are my son, for valiantly you have acquitted yourself to-day; you have shown yourself worthy of empire.*"

On the day of the battle and on the ensuing, there fell by a moderate computation, besides thirty thousand men of inferior rank, one thousand two hundred French knights, one thousand four hundred nobles, four thousand men at arms, (who formed in the French army, a certain number of companies composed of one hundred men each, and since known under the name of *Gendarmerie*.) Many of the principal nobility of France were left on the

field of battle, and among the rest Charles of Alençon, Philip's brother. The kings also of Bohemia and Minorca were slain. The fate of the former was remarkable; he was blind from age, but being resolved to hazard his person and set an example to others, he ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each side, to the horses of two gentlemen of his train; his dead body and those of his attendants, were afterwards found among the slain, with their horses standing by them in the same situation. His crest was three ostrich feathers, and his motto, these German words, "*Ich Dien*," (I serve,) which the prince of Wales and his successors adopted in memorial of this great victory. It was no less remarkable for the small loss sustained by the English, than for the great slaughter of the French. It is difficult, however, to believe with the English historian, that the loss of the English army amounted only to one esquire, and three knights, and very few of inferior rank.

Edward, as moderate in victory as prudent in his measures to obtain it, found that the preservation of his possessions in France required, above all, that he should secure to himself an easy entrance into that kingdom. He, therefore, limited his ambition to the conquest of Calais, and presented himself with his victorious army before that place, which he purposed to reduce by famine.

During that siege, which lasted near a twelve-month, Charles of Blois invaded Brittany with a considerable army; but the countess of Mountfort, reinforced by some English troops, attacked him during the night in his intrenchments, dispersed his army, and took Charles himself prisoner. His wife, by whom he was entitled to the duchy of Brittany, compelled by the present necessity, took on her the government of the party, and proved herself a rival in every shape, and an antagonist to

the countess of Mountfort, both in the field and in the cabinet. While these noble heroines excited the admiration of Europe by their glorious achievements, queen Philippa in England showed herself no less capable of exerting every manly virtue. She marched to Durham, at the head of a body of little more than twelve thousand men, to meet the king of Scotland, David Bruce, who had been induced by his ally, the king of France, to invade the northern counties of England, and had entered Northumberland with an army of above fifty thousand men. Queen Philippa ventured to approach him at Neville's Cross near Durham; and riding through the ranks of her army, exhorted every man to take revenge on these barbarous ravagers; nor could she be persuaded to leave the field till the armies were on the point of engaging. The Scots were completely broken and chased off the field. No less than fifteen thousand of them were slain; and David Bruce himself was taken prisoner. Philippa having secured him in the tower, hastened to the English camp before Calais, where she was received with all the honours due to her rank, her merit, and her success.

The town of Calais, now reduced to the last extremity by famine, the inhabitants offered to capitulate. But Edward, incensed with their pertinacious resistance, would not receive the town on any condition, which should confine him in the punishment of these offenders. However, he was at last persuaded to insist only, that six of the most considerable citizens should be sent to him to be disposed of as he thought proper; that they should come to his camp, carrying the keys of the city in their hands, bareheaded, barefooted, with ropes about their necks; and on these conditions he promised to spare the lives of all the remainder.

These conditions struck the Calaisians with new

consternation. To sacrifice six of their fellow citizens to a certain destruction for signalizing their valour in a common cause, appeared to them even more severe than that general punishment with which they were before threatened. At last, one of the principal inhabitants called Eustace de St. Pierre, whose name deserves to be for ever recorded, stepped forth and declared himself willing to encounter death for the safety of his friends and companions. Five others, animated by his example, made a like generous offer. These six heroic burghesses appeared before Edward, laid at his feet the keys of their city, and were ordered to be led to execution. But the entreaties of queen Philippa saved Edward's memory from the infamy of such a barbarous resolution against such men. She threw herself on her knees before him, and with tears in her eyes, begged the lives of these citizens. Having obtained her request, she carried them into her tent, ordered a repast to be set before them, and after making them a present of money and clothes, dismissed them in safety.

The king, on taking possession of Calais, ordered immediately all the inhabitants to evacuate the town, and peopled it anew with English families, an act of political rigour, which probably preserved so long to his successors the possession of that important fortress,

*Ann. 1348.*

Through the mediation of the Pope's legates, Edward concluded a new truce with France, but even during this cessation of arms, he had very nearly lost Calais, by the treachery of Aimery de Pavie, an Italian, whom he had entrusted with the government of that place, and who had agreed to deliver it up for twenty thousand crowns, to Geof-

frey de Charni, who commanded the French forces in those quarters. Edward, informed of this plot by Aimery's secretary, summoned the governor to London on other pretences, and having charged him with the guilt, promised him his life, but on condition that he would turn the contrivance to the destruction of the enemy. The Italian easily agreed to this double treachery. A day was appointed for the admission of the French; and Edward, secretly departing from London, arrived the evening before at Calais, and made a proper disposition for the reception of the enemy. All those who entered the city were immediately slain or taken prisoners; the great gate opened, Edward, with the garrison rushing out in the pursuit of the rest, a fierce and bloody engagement ensued, in which the king remarking a French gentleman called Eustace de RibauMont, who exerted himself with singular vigour and bravery, stepped forth from his troop, and challenging him, began a sharp and dangerous encounter. Twice he was beaten to the ground by the valour of the French knight, and he twice recovered himself. The victory was long undecided; till RibauMont perceiving himself to be left almost alone, called out to his antagonist, whom he did not know to be the king, "*Sir knight, I yield myself your prisoner.*" Most of the French, overpowered by numbers, lost either their lives or their liberty.

The French officers who had fallen into the hands of the English, were admitted to sup with the prince of Wales and the English nobility. The king himself came into the apartment and conversed familiarly with one or other of his prisoners. He openly bestowed the highest encomiums on RibauMont, called him the most valorous knight that he had ever been acquainted with, and confessed, that he himself had at no time been in so great

danger as when engaged in combat with him. He then took a string of pearls which he wore about his own head, and throwing it over the head of Ribaumont, he said to him, "*Sir Eustace, I bestow this present upon you as a testimony of my esteem for your bravery, and I desire you to wear it a year for my sake. I acquit you of your ransom, and you are at liberty to-morrow to dispose of yourself as you think proper.*"

*Ann. 1349 to 1355.*

The king institutes the order of the garter, composed of twenty-five knights besides the sovereign; and as it has never been enlarged, this badge of distinction continues as honourable as at its first institution. A vulgar story prevails, that at a court-ball, Edward's mistress, commonly supposed to be the countess of Salisbury, dropped her garter; and the king, taking it up, observed some of the courtiers to smile, upon which he called out, "*Hon! soit qui mal y pense* ; (evil be to him that evil thinks) and instituting the order of the garter in memorial of this event, adopted these words for the motto. This origin, though unsupported by any ancient authority, is far from being improbable, or unsuitable to the manners of the times; and it is indeed difficult by any other means to account either for the seemingly unmeaning terms of the motto, or for the peculiar badge of the garter, which seems to have no reference to any purpose either of military use or ornament.

At that time, a destructive pestilence invaded England, as well as the rest of Europe, and is computed to have swept away near a third of the inhabitants in every country which it attacked.

The truce which had been concluded between Edward and Philip, was dissolved by the death of

the latter (22 Aug. 1350), who left his kingdom, disturbed by intestine commotions, the chief promoter of which was Charles king of Navarre, who, on account of his wickedness, received the appellation of *Charles le Mauvais*. He now entered into a secret correspondence with England.

Edward, well pleased that the factions in France had at length gained him some partizans in that kingdom, which his pretensions to the crown had never been able to accomplish, he resolved to make immediately a double attack, one on the side of Guienne, under the command of his son, the other on the side of Calais, in his own person. The prince of Wales arrived in the Garonne, with his army, on board a fleet of three hundred sail. Being joined by the vassals of Gascony, he took the field, and carried on his devastations as far as the southern parts of Languedoc, reducing to ashes all the villages and several towns in that province, without experiencing any resistance; and after an incursion of six weeks, he returned with a vast booty and many prisoners to Guienne, where he took up his winter quarters.

The king's incursion from Calais was of the same nature, and attended with the same success. But John, the present king of France, always kept at a distance, and declined an engagement. After having followed him as far as Hesdin, Edward retired to Calais, and thence went over to England, where a threatened invasion of the Scots required his presence. They had already surprised Berwick, and had collected an army with a view of committing ravages upon the northern provinces, but on the approach of Edward, they retired to their mountains. Baliol, who attended Edward, finding that his constant adherence to the English had given his countrymen an unconquerable aversion to his title, resigned into the king's hands all his pre-



tensions to the crown of Scotland, and received for it an annual pension of two thousand pounds, with which he passed the remainder of his life in privacy and retirement.

*Ann. 1356 to 1363.*

The prince of Wales, encouraged by the success of the preceding campaign, ventured to penetrate into the heart of France, with an army of twelve thousand men, of which not a third were English; and in his way towards Normandy, where he intended to join the partizans of the king of Navarre, he ravaged several provinces. But being informed that king John, with an army of above eighty thousand men, advanced by hasty marches to intercept him, and finding that all the bridges over the Loire had been broken down, and that every pass was carefully guarded, he was obliged to think of making his retreat into Guienne. But he was overtaken by the French army near Poitiers, and finding that his retreat was now become impracticable, he prepared for battle, with all the ardour of a young hero, and all the prudence of the most experienced warrior. Thus he secured the glorious issue of that memorable battle of Poitiers, fought the 19th September 1356, in which he completely discomfited an army more than six times superior in number to his own, and took the king of France prisoner.

Here commences the truly admirable heroism of the prince of Wales, called the *Black Prince*, from the colour of his armour. The most brilliant victories are vulgar things indeed, in comparison of that moderation and humanity displayed by a young prince of twenty-seven years of age, elated by as extraordinary and as unexpected success as had ever crowned the valour of any commander.

He came forth to meet the captive king with all the marks of regard and sympathy ; administered comfort to him amidst his misfortunes ; paid him the tribute of praise due to his valour ; and ascribed his own victory merely to the blind chance of war. At a repast prepared in the prince's tent, he himself served at the royal captive's table, and stood at the king's back during the meal, and on his being urged to take a place at table, he constantly refused it, and declared that being a subject, he was too well acquainted with the distance between his own rank and that of royal majesty, to assume such freedom.

The prince of Wales conducted his royal captive to Bordeaux, and having concluded there a two year's truce with France, he embarked for England, and landed at Southwark. King John was clad in royal apparel, and mounted on a white steed, distinguished by its size and beauty, and by the richness of his trappings ; while the conqueror rode by his side in a mean attire, and carried by a black palfrey. He presented the king of France to his father, who advanced to meet him, and received him with the same courtesy as if he had been a neighbouring potentate that had voluntarily come to pay him a friendly visit.

Meanwhile, the captivity of John, joined to the preceding disorders of the French government, had produced in that country a dissolution almost total of civil authority, and had occasioned confusion more horrible and destructive than had ever been experienced in any age or in any nation.

Amidst these disorders, the king of Navarre made his escape from prison, and presented a dangerous leader to the furious malcontents ; but the eyes of all the French, who wished to restore peace to their miserable and desolated country, were turned to-

wards the Dauphin, and that young prince, though not remarkable for his military talents, possessed so much prudence and spirit, that he daily gained the ascendant over all his enemies. Marcel, the seditious provost of Paris, was slain while he was attempting to deliver the city to the king of Navarre and the English, and the capital immediately returned to its duty. The most considerable bodies of those mutinous peasants who composed the rebellious faction called *la jacquerie*, were dispersed and put to the sword. Thus France began gradually to assume the face of a regular civil government, and to form some plan for its defence and security.

Edward chiefly employed himself during that time in negotiations with his prisoner; but the terms of peace which John had the weakness to sign, were rejected by the Dauphin and the states of France, as too dishonourable and pernicious to the kingdom; and Edward, on the expiration of the truce, prepared himself for a new invasion of France. He passed over to Calais, where he assembled an army of near a hundred thousand men, a force which the Dauphin being unable to oppose in open field, prepared to elude, by putting all the considerable towns in a posture of defence, and never hazarding a battle. Edward, aware of this plan, spread his troops into several provinces, which were abandoned to their devastation.

While the war was carried on in this ruinous manner, the negotiations for peace were never interrupted; but as the king insisted on the execution of his treaty with king John, which the Dauphin persevered to reject, there appeared no likelihood of accommodation. At last, the representations of the earl, now duke of Lancaster, persuaded Edward to soften the rigour of these terms. The conferences between the English and French

commissioners were carried on during a few days at Bretegni near Chartres, and peace was concluded on the 8th May 1360. It was stipulated, that king John should be restored to his liberty, and pay as his ransom three millions of crowns of gold; that Edward should for ever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, and should receive in exchange the provinces of Poitou, Xaintonge, Angoumois, Perigord, Limousin, Quercy, Rouergue, Agenois, and other districts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guines, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu; that the full sovereignty of all those provinces, as well as that of Guienne, should be vested in the crown of England, and that France should renounce all title to feudal jurisdiction, homage, or appeal from them; that Edward should renounce his confederacy with the Flemings, and John his connections with the Scots; that the disputes concerning the succession of Brittany between the families of Blois and Mountfort, should be decided by arbiters appointed by the two kings; that the king of Navarre should be restored to all his honours and possessions, and that forty hostages should be sent to England as a security for the execution of the treaty. In consequence of it, the king of France was brought over to Calais, whither Edward soon after repaired, and there both princes solemnly ratified the treaty, on the 24th of October. However, the mutual renunciations which were to be made at Calais, were postponed till St. Andrew's-day, and the two kings agreed to send them to Bruges; king John did not fail to send his own at the appointed time, but Edward's renunciations did not appear; therefore, the things remained in the same situation as before the treaty, and Edward was put in possession of Guienne, save the feudal superiority,

jurisdiction, and sovereignty to the crown of France, without any opposition from Edward's commissaries, who acknowledged that he could not insist on the renunciations of king John, without renouncing himself the title of king of France.

*Ann. 1364 to 1369.*

King John restored to liberty, after a captivity of four years, came again to London to settle the ransom of his son the duke of Anjou, who being one of the hostages, had made his escape from England. John's council endeavoured to dissuade him from this design, but he persevered in it, and was heard to say on that occasion, that "*though good faith was banished from the rest of the earth, she ought still to retain her habitation in the breasts of princes.*" Some historians would detract from the merit of this honourable conduct, by pretending that John was enamoured of an English lady, to whom he was glad on this pretence to pay a visit; but besides that this surmise is not founded on any good authority, it appears somewhat unlikely on account of the advanced age of that prince, who was now in his fifty-sixth year. He soon after sickened and died. His son Charles, surnamed the Wise, succeeded him, and restored once more his country to tranquillity and power. He dispersed a set of banditti, who, under the name of *Companions*, had long become a terror to all the peaceable inhabitants. The famous Bertrand Duguesclin enlisted them under his standard, and led them against Peter king of Castile, stigmatized by his cotemporaries and by posterity with the epithet of *Cruel*. These hardy soldiers, conducted by so able a general, easily prevailed over the king of Castile, while all his subjects were ready to join the enemy; he fled from his dominions, took shelter

in Guienne, and craved the protection of the prince of Wales, who, tired with his long inactivity, and moved by the consideration of supporting a distressed prince, promised him his assistance, and reinstated him on his throne. But he had soon reason to repent his connections with such a man. The ungrateful tyrant refused the stipulated pay to the English forces, and the prince receiving no satisfaction on this head, was obliged to return into Guienne, after having involved himself in so much debt, that he found it necessary on his return to impose on his duchy a new tax, which revived the animosity of the inhabitants against the English; and induced them to carry their complaints to Charles, as to their lord paramount, against these oppressions of the English government.

As the renunciations stipulated by the treaty of Bretigny had not been exchanged; Charles grounded upon it his claim of still considering himself as superior lord of those provinces, and of receiving the appeals of his sub-vassals. He accordingly sent to the prince of Wales a summons to appear in his court at Paris, and there to justify his conduct towards his vassals. The prince replied, that he would come to Paris, but it should be at the head of sixty thousand men.

*Ann. 1370 to 1375.*

Charles invades the Ponthieu, which gave the English an inlet into the heart of France. The citizens of Abbeville open their gates to him; many other towns imitate the example, and in a little time the whole country is reduced to submission. The dukes of Berry and Anjou, brothers to Charles, being assisted by Duguesclin, invade the southern provinces, and being supported by the good dispositions of the people, and by the ardour of the

French nobility, they make every day considerable progress against the prince of Wales, who, on account of the bad state of his health, could not mount on horseback, or exert his usual activity; and when he was obliged by his increasing infirmities to throw up the command, and return to his native country, the affairs of the English in the south of France were menaced with total ruin.

The king, incensed at these injuries, resumed, by advice of parliament, the vain title of king of France: he endeavoured to send succours into Gascony; but all his attempts were unsuccessful. He embarked himself for Bordeaux with an army, but was so long detained by contrary winds, that he was obliged to lay aside the enterprise. Sir Robert Knolles, at the head of thirty thousand men, marched out of Calais, and continued his ravages to the gates of Paris, without being able to provoke the enemy to an engagement; he proceeded in his march to the provinces of Maine and Anjou, which he laid waste, but there he was defeated by Duguesclin, and the small remains of the English forces, instead of reaching Guienne, took shelter in Brittany, which was entirely in the possession of count Mountfort since the battle of Auray, where his competitor Charles de Blois had been slain.

The duke of Lancaster, some time after, made another attempt from Calais to Bordeaux, with an army of twenty-five thousand men, but was so much harassed by the enemy, that he brought not the half of his army to the place of its destination. Edward, from the necessity of his affairs, was at last obliged to conclude a truce with France, after almost all his ancient possessions in that kingdom had been ravished from him, except Bordeaux and Bayonne; and all his conquests, except Calais. Besides the loss of his foreign dominions, Edward, in the decline of the most glorious life, had the mor-

tification of feeling the decay of his authority at home, and of experiencing from the sharpness of some parliamentary remonstrances, the great inconstancy of the people. Being now a widower, he attached himself to a lady whose name was Alice Pierce, who, by her influence over him, gave such general disgust, that in order to satisfy the parliament he was obliged to remove her from court.

The death of the prince of Wales every day approaching, it was generally apprehended lest the succession of his son Richard, now a minor, should be defeated by the intrigues of the duke of Lancaster, Edward's third son, into the hands of whom the administration had in a great measure been resigned by his father; but the king, in order to satisfy on this head the wishes of the people and of his dying son, declared in parliament his grandson heir and successor to the crown.

*Ann. 1376, 1377.*

The prince of Wales, after a lingering illness, died on the 8th of June 1376, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and left a character so illustrious for his uniting in the highest degree the most eminent virtues never stained by the least blemish, that he was qualified to throw a great lustre, not only on that rude age in which he lived, but on the most shining period of ancient or modern history. The king survived his son about a year; he died on the 28th of June 1377, in the sixty-fifth year of his age and the fifty-first of his reign.

Edward's reign is one of the most glorious that occurs in the history of any country, and that which the English are apt to consider with peculiar fondness on account of the ascendancy which they began to acquire over France, by the wonderful victories of Crecy and Poitiers; but the prudent



and vigorous administration by which that able monarch maintained in England a longer interval of internal tranquillity than she had been blest with in any former period, or than she experienced for many ages after, is really more admirable than all his military achievements, whose chief benefit and perhaps the principal motive was to carry over from England those mighty barons, whose unquiet spirit being directed against a foreign enemy, had no leisure to breed at home those disturbances to which they were naturally so much inclined.

Edward had a numerous posterity by his queen Philippa of Hainault. His eldest son, denominated the Black Prince, died before him, but left a son named Richard, who succeeded to the throne. Edward's second son was Lionel duke of Clarence, who left a daughter, married to Edmund Mortimer, earl of March. The third son was called John of Gaunt, from the place of his birth, and was afterwards created duke of Lancaster. The fourth son was Edmund earl of Cambridge, and afterwards duke of York; the fifth son was Thomas, who received the title of earl of Buckingham, and that of duke of Gloucester, from his nephew. Edward had four daughters, who were married to the earl of Bedford, to the king of Castile, to John of Mountfort duke of Brittany, and to the earl of Pembroke.

The parliament rose into greater consideration during Edward's reign, and acquired more regular authority than in any former time, as he took no steps of moment without consulting them and obtaining their approbation. It is to be remarked, however, that he granted above twenty parliamentary confirmations of the great charter, which plainly proves that it was frequently violated, and that the maxims of Edward's reign were in general somewhat arbitrary; but above all concerning taxes, which he openly maintained to have the

power of levying at pleasure ; and after his splendid success against France had added weight to his authority, these arbitrary impositions became almost annual and perpetual, though the parliament never failed to make remonstrances against it. In the mean time the nation was indebted to him for that popular statute which still remains in force without any alteration, and which limited the cases of high treason, before vague and uncertain, to three principal heads ; conspiring the death of the king, levying war against him, and adhering to his enemies. Edward abolished also the use of the French language in pleadings and public deeds. It was not till the middle of his reign that the English began to extend their navigation even to the Baltic, nor till the middle of the subsequent century that they sailed to the Mediterranean.

The magnificent castle of Windsor was built by Edward III. ; and his method of conducting the work may serve as a specimen of the condition of the people in that age. Instead of engaging workmen by contracts and wages, he assessed every county in England to send him a certain number of masons, tilers, and carpenters, as if he had been levying an army.

### RICHARD II. Twelfth King from the Conquest.

[Son to Edward the Black Prince; born January 6, 1367; succeeded his grandfather Edward III. and was crowned July 16, 1377; married Ann sister to the empress of Germany, January 14, 1382; dethroned 1387; resumed the government 1389; taken prisoner by Henry the duke of Lancaster's son, and sent to the tower September 1, 1399, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment; murdered January 1400, in Pomfret castle, aged 33, buried at Langley, but removed to Westminster.]

*Ann. 1377 to 1384.*

Richard was only eleven years old when he ascended the throne; however, no regency was expressly appointed, and the administration was conducted entirely in the king's name, by nine counsellors appointed by the peers on the petition of the house of commons: the bishops of London, Carlisle, and Salisbury, the earls of Marche and Stafford, sir Richard de Stafford, sir Henry de Scrope, sir John Devereux, and sir Hugh Segrave, were accordingly authorized to conduct for a year the ordinary course of business, which was principally regulated by the secret authority of the king's uncles, especially of the duke of Lancaster, who was in reality the regent. Meanwhile the war with France was carried on in a manner somewhat languid, and produced no event worth noticing; but the expences which attended it exhausted the English treasury, and induced the parliament to impose a new and unusual tax of three groats on every person, male and female, above fifteen years of age; and they

ordained, that in levying the tax, the opulent should relieve the poor by an equitable compensation. This imposition had been farmed out to tax gatherers in each county, who levied it with rigour, and the clause of making the opulent relieve the poor being so vague, occasioned many partialities and disturbances. The first disorder was raised in a village of Essex, by a blacksmith well known by the name of Wat Tyler. The tax gatherers coming to this man's shop while he was at work, demanded payment for his daughter; which he refused, alledging that she was below the age assigned by the statute. One of these fellows offered to produce a very indecent proof of the contrary, and at the same time laid hold of the maid, which the father resenting, immediately knocked out the ruffian's brains with his hammer. The by-standers applauded the action, and immediately flew to arms. The flame spread in an instant over the whole county of Essex, and soon propagated itself into those of Kent, Hertford, Surrey, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincoln, and Cambridge. The mutinous populace amounted to a hundred thousand men when they arrived at Blackheath. They sent a message to the king, who had taken shelter in the tower, and they desired a conference with him. In the mean time, the seditious peasants favoured by the populace of London, had broken into the city; had burned the duke of Lancaster's palace, pillaged the warehouses of the rich merchants, and cut off the heads of all the gentlemen whom they laid hold of, expressing a particular animosity against lawyers and attornies. The king finding no defence in the tower, went out among them and desired to know their demands. They required a general pardon, the abolition of slavery, freedom of commerce in market towns without toll or imposts, and a fixed rent on lands instead of the services due by villanage,

These requests were complied with, and this body immediately dispersed.

During this transaction another body of the rebels had broken into the tower, had murdered Simon Sudbury, the primate and chancellor, with sir Robert Hales the treasurer, and some other persons of distinction, when the king passing along Smithfield very slenderly guarded, met with Wat Tyler at the head of these rioters, and entered into a conference with him. This bold man there behaved in such a manner, that Walworth, the mayor of London, not able to bear his insolence, brought him to the ground with a blow of his mace, and he was instantly dispatched by others of the king's attendants. The mutineers seeing their leader fall, prepared themselves for revenge, when the king, by an extraordinary presence of mind in a youth of sixteen years of age, ordered his company to stop, advanced alone towards the enraged multitude, and accosting them with an affable and intrepid countenance, he asked them ; " What is the meaning of all this disorder, my good people ? Are ye angry that you have lost your leader ? I am your king, I will be your leader." The populace overawed by his presence, implicitly followed him ; he led them into the fields and peaceably dismissed them with the same charters, which had been granted to their fellows. Soon after, Richard taking the field at the head of forty thousand men, compelled the rebels to submit. The charters of enfranchisement and pardon were revoked by parliament, and several of the ringleaders were severely punished. The courage, prudence, and dexterity which the king had discovered in this critical situation, raised great expectations in the nation ; but they unfortunately vanished in proportion as Richard advanced in years.

*Ann. 1385, 1386.*

Death of the famous heretic John Wickliffe, a secular priest, educated at Oxford, who began in the latter end of Edward III. to spread the doctrine of reformation. His opinions were nearly the same with those which were propagated by the reformers in the sixteenth century. He denied the doctrine of the real presence, the supremacy of the church of Rome, the merit of monastic vows; he maintained that the scriptures were the sole rule of faith; that the church was dependant on the state, and should be reformed by it; that the clergy ought to possess no estates; that the begging friars were a nuisance, and ought not to be supported, that the numerous ceremonies of the church were hurtful to true piety, that oaths were unlawful, that every thing was subject to fate and destiny, and that all men were pre-ordained either to eternal salvation or reprobation.

Robert Stuart, nephew to David Bruce, now filled the throne of Scotland, and had obtained from the regency of Charles VI. the present king of France, one thousand five hundred men at arms, to support the Scots in their incursions against the English. The king's uncles, apprehensive of the consequences, marched into Scotland with an army of sixty thousand men, and Richard himself at their head. The Scots did not pretend to make resistance against so great a force; but when Richard entered Scotland by the east coast, the Scots, to the number of thirty thousand men, attended by the French, entered the borders of England by the west, and carried their ravages through Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire. Richard destroying in his way all the towns and villages, advanced towards Edinburgh, reduced it to ashes, &c

well as Perth, Dundee, and other places in the low countries ; but when he was advised to march towards the west coast to await the enemy, his impatience to return to England, and enjoy his usual amusements, outweighed every consideration, and he led back his army. Robert de Vere earl of Oxford, a young man of a noble family, of an agreeable figure, but of dissolute manners, had acquired an entire ascendant over him, and governed him with an absolute authority. The king first created this favourite, marquis of Dublin, a title before unknown in England, then duke of Ireland, and transferred to him by patent, which was confirmed in parliament, the entire sovereignty for life of that island. He gave him in marriage his cousin-german, the daughter of Ingelram de Courcy, earl of Bedford ; but soon after, he permitted him to repudiate that lady, and to marry a Bohemian, with whom he had become enamoured. All favours passed through his hands ; access to the king could only be obtained by his mediation ; and Richard, unmindful how dearly his great-grandfather Edward II. had paid for his fatal fondness for minions, seemed to value royal authority, so far only as it enabled him to load with favours, titles, and dignities this object of his affections.

The usual complaints against the insolence of minions were loudly echoed and greedily received in every part of the kingdom. The principal nobility, and even the princes of the blood united against the favourite, and resolved on his destruction. At the head of this association were the earls of Nottingham, of Arundel, of Northumberland, of Salisbury, and of Warwick. Their first attack was directed against the chancellor, Michael de la Pole, who was esteemed the person of greatest experience and capacity among those who were attached to the duke of Ireland and to the king's

secret council. An impeachment against him was carried up by the house of commons to the house of peers. The king, foreseeing the tempest preparing against him and his ministers, withdrew from parliament, and retired with his court to Eltham. The parliament sent a deputation inviting him to return, and threatening that if he persisted in absenting himself, they would immediately dissolve without granting any supply. At the same time, a member was encouraged to call for the record, containing the parliamentary deposition of Edward II. a plain intimation of the fate which Richard, if he continued refractory, had to expect. The king, unable to resist, consented to return to the parliament, on condition, that except concluding the present impeachment, no attack should be made upon any other of his ministers. The chancellor was condemned and deprived of his office, although nothing material was alledged against him.

The confederates observed their stipulation with the king, and attacked no more of his ministers, but they immediately attacked himself and his royal dignity. A commission, which was ratified by parliament, appointed a council of fourteen persons, all of the duke of Gloucester's faction, except Nevil, archbishop of York. The sovereign power was transferred to these men for a twelve month; the king, who had now reached the twenty-first year of his age, was in reality dethroned, and the aristocracy was rendered supreme. The king was obliged to submit, and contented himself with entering publicly a vague protest, which did not prevent the commissioners from proceeding in the exercise of their authority.

*Ann.* 1387, 1388.

As the house of commons appeared now of



weight in the constitution, Richard secretly tried some expedients for procuring a favourable election; he sounded some of the sheriffs, who, being at that time, both the returning officers and magistrates of great power in the counties, had naturally considerable influence in elections, but he found the great majority of them averse to his enterprises. The sentiments and inclinations of the judges were more favourable to him. They declared, that the late commission was derogatory to the royalty and prerogative of the king; that those who had procured it, or advised the king to consent to it, were punishable with death, and that those were equally criminals who should persevere in maintaining it.

The duke of Gloucester and his adherents soon got intelligence of this secret consultation, and as soon as the king came to London, they assembled their forces, and appeared in arms at Haringay park near Highgate, with a power that Richard was not able to resist. They sent him a message, and demanded that the persons who had seduced him by their pernicious counsel, and were traitors both to him and to the kingdom, should be delivered up to them, and they accused by name the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the late chancellor, sir Robert Tresilian, and sir Nicholas Brembre: all of them had withdrawn. The duke of Ireland fled to Cheshire, and levied some forces, with which he advanced, but was encountered by Gloucester, who routed him, dispersed his followers, and obliged him to fly into the Low Countries, where he died a few years after. The confederate lords appeared at London with an army of forty thousand men, and having obliged the king to summon a parliament, an accusation was drawn up against the five persons they had already accused. Sir Nicholas Brembre and sir Robert Tresilian, who had been discovered, were quickly found guilty and executed.

Some others who were noted as the friends of the favourite shared the same fate. All the judges who had signed the extra judicial declaration in favour of the king's prerogative were condemned to death, but obtained as a grace to be banished to Ireland.

*Ann. 1389 to 1395.*

There was not a twelve month since Richard had been reduced to that complete state of slavery, when all at once he alone broke off his chains by a measure, as unexpected by his enemies as it was wisely calculated and executed. Being now in his twenty-third year, he declared in council, to the great astonishment of all present, that as he had now attained the full age which entitled him to govern by his own authority his kingdom and household, he resolved to exercise his right of sovereignty; and as no one ventured to oppose so reasonable an intention, he immediately deprived the archbishop of Canterbury of the dignity of chancellor, and bestowed it on the bishop of Winchester; he did the same as to the office of treasurer and to that of admiral; even the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Warwick were removed from the council.

Richard exercised with moderation the authority he had resumed; and seemed to be entirely reconciled to his uncles and to the other peers, of whom he had so much reason to complain, and he courted the affections of the people by remitting some subsidies which had been granted him.

After this restoration of the government to its natural state, an interval of eight years elapses which affords no remarkable events, except some insurrections in Ireland. The king was obliged to make an expedition to that country, which

he reduced to obedience, and thus recovered in some degree his character of courage, which had suffered a little by the inactivity of his reign.

*Ann.* 1396, 1397, 1398.

A truce of twenty-five years is established between the English and French courts.

As the king's administration appeared in some measure unexceptionable since he had resumed his legal power, it would certainly have consolidated his authority, had he not continually brought it into contempt by his personal character, by his indolence, profuseness, and by his dissipating in idle show, or in bounties to new favourites of no reputation, that revenue which the people expected to see him employ in enterprises directed to public honour and advantage. Gloucester, who soon perceived how much this dissolute conduct was favourable to his views, seldom appeared at court or in council, and never declared his opinion, but in order to disapprove of the measures embraced by the king. The long truce with France was unpopular with the English, who breathed nothing but war against that hostile nation; and Gloucester took care to encourage all the vulgar prejudices which prevailed on this subject. His great abilities, his popular manners, his princely extraction, his immense riches, his high office of constable; all these advantages, not a little assisted by his want of court favour, gave him a mighty authority in the kingdom, and rendered him formidable to Richard and his ministers.

All these circumstances revived the resentment of the king against the former acts of Gloucester's violence. He ordered him to be unexpectedly arrested, and hurried on board a ship which was lying in the river, and destined to carry him over to

Calais, where alone he could be safely detained in custody, on account of his numerous partizans in England. The earls of Arundel and Warwick were seized at the same time, which deprived the malcontents of their leaders, and the concurrence of the dukes of Lancaster and York in those measures bereaved them of all possibility of resistance.

A parliament was immediately summoned, which passed whatever acts the king was pleased to dictate. They annulled for ever the commission of fourteen, which had usurped his authority; they repealed all those acts which had condemned his former ministers; and revoked the general pardon which the king had granted upon his re-assuming his authority. In consequence of this, the archbishop of Canterbury was banished the kingdom, the earl of Arundel was condemned and executed, the earl of Warwick showing signs of contrition, had his life spared, but was banished to the Isle of Man.

A warrant was issued to the governor of Calais, to bring over the duke of Gloucester to take his trial, but the governor returned for answer that the duke had died suddenly of an apoplexy. It became immediately the general opinion that he was murdered by orders from Richard; and in the subsequent reign, undoubted proofs were produced in parliament that he had been smothered between two pillows by his keepers.

The parliament, after a session of twelve days, was adjourned to Shrewsbury, where they met in the ensuing year, and reversed the attainder of Tresilian and the other judges, and with the approbation of their successors in the same offices, declared the answers for which these magistrates had been impeached to be just and legal. The parliament, before they were dissolved, elected a com-

mittee of twelve lords and six commonsers, whom they invested with the whole power both of lords and commons, and endowed with full authority to finish all business which had been laid before the houses, and which they had not leisure to bring to a conclusion. That extraordinary measure, which might either immediately or as a precedent have proved dangerous to the constitution, was occasioned by an event singular and unexpected, which engaged the attention of the parliament.

After the destruction of the duke of Gloucester, and the heads of that party, a misunderstanding broke out among those noblemen who had joined in the prosecution. The duke of Hereford, eldest son to the duke of Lancaster, accused in parliament the duke of Norfolk, of having spoken to him in private many slanderous words of the king, and of having imputed to that prince an intention of subverting and destroying many of his principal nobility. Norfolk denied the charge; gave Hereford the lie; and offered to prove his innocence by single combat. The challenge was accepted, the time and place of combat were appointed; and, as the event of this important trial by arms might require the interposition of legislative authority, the parliament thought it more suitable to delegate their power to a committee than to prolong their session.

The lists for this decision of truth and right were appointed at Coventry before the king; the whole nation was held in suspense with regard to the event; but when the two champions appeared in the field accoutred for the combat, the king interposed, and, by the advice and authority of the parliamentary commissioners, he stopped the duel, and to show his impartiality, he ordered by the same authority both the combatants to leave the kingdom, assigning one country for the place of Norfolk's exile, which he declared perpetual, another

for that of Hereford, which he limited to ten years. Hereford's behaviour was so submissive in this circumstance, that the king promised to shorten the term of his exile four years, and granted him letters patent, by which he was empowered, in case any inheritance should in the interval accrue to him, to enter immediately in possession, and to postpone the doing of homage till his return.

*Ann. 1399.*

Richard being informed that the duke of Hereford had entered into a treaty of marriage with the daughter of the duke of Berry, uncle to the king of France, sent over the earl of Salisbury to Paris, with instructions to prevent the conclusion of an alliance, which would so much extend the interest of his cousin in foreign countries. The death of the duke of Lancaster happening soon after, the duke of Hereford, in consequence of the king's patent, desired to be put in possession of his father's estate; but Richard afraid of strengthening the hands of a man whom he had so much offended, applied to the parliamentary commissioners, and persuaded them that this affair was but an appendage to that which the parliament had delegated to them. By their authority, he revoked his letters patent, and retained possession of the estate of Lancaster.

The duke of Hereford, now duke of Lancaster, had acquired by his conduct and abilities the esteem of the public. He was connected with most of the principal nobility by blood, alliance, or friendship; and as the injury done him by the king might in its consequences affect all of them, he easily brought them by a sense of common interest to take part in his resentment. In these circumstances, Richard had the imprudence to embark for Ireland

to revenge the death of his cousin, Roger earl of Marche, the presumptive heir of the crown; who had lately been slain in a skirmish by the natives; and he thereby left England open to the attempts of his provoked enemy, who, embarking at Nantz, with a retinue of sixty persons, landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, and was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, two of the most powerful barons in England. He here took a solemn oath that he had no other purpose in this invasion than to recover his duchy of Lancaster, and he invited all his friends and all lovers of their country, to second him in this just and moderate pretension. The concourse of people coming to list under his banner was so great, that in a few days his army amounted to sixty thousand men.

The duke of York, who was left guardian of the kingdom, assembled at St. Albans an army of forty thousand men, but found them so destitute of attachment to the royal cause, that he readily hearkened to a message from the duke of Lancaster, who entreated him not to oppose a loyal and humble suppliant in the recovery of his legal patrimony. The guardian declared publicly, that he would second his nephew in so favourable a request. His army embraced with acclamations the same sentiments, and the duke of Lancaster, reinforced by them, was now entirely master of the kingdom. He hastened to Bristol, into which some of the king's ministers had thrown themselves, and having taken them prisoners, he yielded to the popular wishes, and ordered them to be led to immediate execution without trial.

The king receiving intelligence of this invasion hastened over from Ireland, and landed at Milford-Haven with a body of twenty thousand men, but they gradually deserted him till he found that he had not above six thousand who followed his

standard. He retired secretly from this small body, and fled to the Isle of Anglesea, where he purposed to embark either for Ireland or France, and there await a more favourable opportunity for his return into England. The duke of Lancaster, sensible of the danger, sent to him the earl of Northumberland, with the strongest professions of loyalty and submission. That nobleman, by treachery and false oaths, made himself master of the king's person, and carried him to his enemy at Flint Castle. Richard was conducted to London by the duke of Lancaster, who was there received with the acclamations of the mutinous populace, and appointed the immediate meeting of a parliament in the name of the king, who was confined in the Tower.

Such of the peers as were most devoted to the king, were either fled or imprisoned, and no opponent even among the barons, dared to appear against the duke of Lancaster; it was also easy to imagine, that a house of commons elected during that universal ferment would be extremely attached to the Lancastrian party. Therefore, the duke of Lancaster, sensible that he should be entirely master, began to carry his views to the crown itself. He first extorted a resignation from Richard, and notwithstanding the danger of the precedent to himself and his posterity, he resolved to have him solemnly deposed in parliament for his pretended tyranny and misconduct. A charge, consisting of thirty-three articles was drawn accordingly against him, and presented to that assembly, and though it was liable to objections almost in every article, it was not examined nor disputed in either house, and seemed to be received with universal approbation. The bishop of Carlisle alone had the courage, amidst this general disloyalty and violence, to appear in defence of his unhappy master, and to plead



his cause with the most eloquent energy against all the power of the prevailing party.

Richard being thus solemnly deposed, the unanimous voice of lords and commons placed the duke of Lancaster on the throne, by the title of Henry IV. Thus originated the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, which for several years after deluged the kingdom with blood, and yet in the end contributed to settle and confirm the constitution.

The parliament being dissolved by the deposition of Richard, it was necessary to summon a new one. Six days were scarcely elapsed when Henry called together without any new election the same members. However, he denominated this assembly a new parliament. They were employed in the usual task of reversing every deed of the opposite party. Such occurrences so frequently recur in the Old History of England, that it could be reduced in some measure to a catalogue of reversals.

On the 23d of October 1399, it was agitated in the house of peers, what advice they would give the king for the future treatment of Richard, since he was resolved to spare his life. They unanimously declared, that he should be imprisoned under a secure guard in some secret place, and should be deprived of all commerce with any of his friends or partizans. It was easy to foresee that he would not long remain alive in the hands of such enemies. The manner in which he was murdered never was positively ascertained. It was long the prevailing opinion, that some of his guards fell upon him in the castle of Pomfret, where he was confined, and dispatched him with their halberts. But it is more probable that he was starved to death in prison, and after all sustenance was denied him, he prolonged his unhappy life for a fortnight before he

reached the end of his miseries. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age and the twenty-third of his reign. He left no posterity either legitimate or illegitimate.

This reign began and ended much the same as that of Edward II. which indicates a great resemblance between the characters of these two unfortunate monarchs. Both were weak and unfit for government, less for want of natural parts and capacity than of solid judgment, and of a proper sense of their dignity; both were fond of idle show and useless parade, addicted to pleasure, devoted to favourites, and it is to be remarked, especially for the instruction of princes, that in the interval of seventy-two years, and in the same country, two kings, governed by their minions, were dethroned, imprisoned, and barbarously murdered.

Some very good laws were made in this reign for the encouragement of navigation and commerce. By one of them it was enacted, that the merchants of England should neither export nor import any goods in any but English ships; which may be considered as the first navigation act of this kingdom.

The most remarkable novelty introduced into the civil government under Richard II. was the creation of peers by patent. Lord Beauchamp of Holt was the first advanced to the house of peers in this manner; he was created baron of Kidderminster in 1388.

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#### *General Observations on that Period.*

The various changes which the English constitution has successively passed through in its progress

towards its present degree of stability, are as curious as interesting to observe. The plans of the British, Roman, Saxon, and Norman governments have been already explored in the preceding periods. William II, Henry I, and Stephen, the three immediate successors of William the Conqueror, being considered as usurpers, reigned with a disputed title, to which they endeavoured to reconcile their English subjects by granting them new charters, by confirming the old ones, and by promising them good laws, an abatement of taxes, the liberty of hunting, &c. &c.; but the royal promises and royal charters being so frequently violated, had so much lost their credit, that the clergy and some of the barons swore fealty to Stephen, only as long as he kept his promises and observed his charters.

With this period began the dynasty of the illustrious house of Anjou or Plantagenet, by the accession of Henry II. to the English throne; a prince to be reckoned among the greatest of his time for wisdom, virtue, and abilities; and who, by adding Britain to the rich and numerous provinces he possessed on the continent, and which composed the third part of the French monarchy, became the most powerful sovereign of Europe. The feudal institutions introduced by William the Conqueror still formed the political constitution of the state; but the disorders, which, since the Conquest had attended them on account of the spirit of rebellion of the nobility against the prince, and animosities against each other, were neither so flagrant nor so numerous, though the barons continued to be alone entrusted with the defence of the state. As the feudal military service was limited to forty days, they never failed to depart home with their retainers as soon as they had accomplished their time, without any consideration of the advantages which could be derived from their longer stay.

The armies being thus unavoidably disbanded, without any possibility of re-assembling them speedily at pleasure, even in the middle of the most important crisis, it frequently happened, that an insignificant truce was the only consequence of the most complete and seemingly the most decisive victories, as the same cause prevented both parties from keeping the field. Henry II. remedied this evil in some measure by introducing the practice of making a commutation of the personal military service for money, and levying scutages from his baronies and knight's fees instead of requiring the attendance of his vassals.

Licentiousness, which pervaded all England, was another evil no less important but more difficult to repress. The laws indifferently executed in peaceable times, lost all their authority during public convulsions; and even during the long, active, and vigilant reign of Edward III. nobody could trust to their protection. Men openly associated themselves under the patronage of some great barons for their mutual defence, and supported each other in all quarrels, murders, robberies, and other crimes. Each of those confederacies bore a public badge, by which it was distinguished. Their chief was more their sovereign than the king himself; hence the perpetual turbulence, disorders, factions, and civil wars of those times, and the large discretionary prerogatives occasionally assumed by the crown, on account of the danger which might have issued from the too great limitation of them. If the king had been precluded from using arbitrary powers, while the nobles seized and exercised them, an absolute anarchy must have been the consequence. These respective encroachments have prepared and ripened the salutary improvements which gradually increasing the counterpoising power of the house of commons, have at last placed it as an insuperable

barrier both to the attempts of the aristocracy against the legal and indispensable authority of the king, and to the abusive and unnecessary exertions of the royal prerogative.

The reign of king John, one of the worst princes that ever filled the English throne, will be for ever memorable for the great charter, that palladium of English liberty which his vices and his follies both constrained and encouraged his subjects to demand, and enabled them to obtain. It contained a very distinct and authentic plan of the British constitution as it stood at that time. The supreme legislative power resided in the king and great council, which was afterwards called Parliament. The archbishops, bishops, abbots, and the principal priors, were constituent members of this council by a double title; 1st, by prescription; as, owing to their superior learning, they had always enjoyed that privilege from the first establishment of christianity; 2d, by their right of baronage as holding of the king *in capite* by military service. The barons, as holding likewise of the crown by a military tenure, were another constituent part of the great council. All other immediate tenants of the crown by knight's service had, as such, a title to have a seat in that assembly, of which the commons were no part till some ages after the Conquest. Their landed property included in the baronies, which extended over the whole territory of the kingdom, was represented in parliament by the barons themselves, who, according to the fictions of the feudal law, were supposed to possess the direct property of it. The barons who obtained the great charter took every precaution they could invent to render it effectual. The king himself consented that they should elect among themselves twenty-five conservators of the charter, to compel him and his ministers to execute all its articles, and immediately to

redress every violation. But these precautions were of no avail. Thence the frequent and earnest cries for the execution and confirmation of the magna charta. Those cries were attended to when the king was in need of the assistance of the people, who commonly bought by liberal grants of money those confirmations which were renewed no less than seven times under the reign of Henry III. and twenty times under the reign of Edward III. However, it has subsisted in fact at least from the year 1266, as far as it concerns the constitution of parliament, as there are still extant writs of that date, to summon to it knights, citizens, and burgesses, while the archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons were summoned personally by letters from the king.

The stability of the great charter was endangered, not only by the arbitrary exertions of the royal prerogative, but by the ambition and frequent rebellions of the highest classes of the nobility. The death of king John in 1216, saved both his country and his family from the ruin with which they were threatened by the confederacy of the revolted barons with the king of France, who, at their invitation, had sent his son Lewis to take possession of the English throne; and the famous assembly convened at Oxford on the 11th of June 1258, and afterwards called *the mad parliament*, where the barons headed by Simon de Mountfort, earl of Leicester, came with such an armed force as to prevent the possibility of any resistance from the court, had entirely overturned the constitution by the absolute and unlimited authority delegated to twenty-four barons for the future management of the state.

In this period, some parliaments were called *general*, and some *particular*. In these last, the king consulted only with such of the clergy and

lalty which he thought proper to select. Some of the ancient English statutes have been made by those particular parliaments. In several of them held during the reign of Edward I. the smaller barons of each county were represented by two. in some by three, and in some by four commissioners. In one of them there was not a single member of the clergy, while in another, not only the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, but even the deans and archdeacons, with a representative of every chapter, and two representatives of the inferior clergy of every diocese, were called. The crown could not but have a great influence in those assemblies on account of the instability of their form, and the prerogatives of limiting at pleasure the number of the writs of summons addressed to the barons. When a parliament was general and most full, it consisted of all the high clergy, with two representatives from the chapter of each cathedral, and two of the inferior clergy of each diocese; of all the earls and greater barons, with the judges and all the members of the king's council, two knights from each county, two citizens from each city, and two burgesses from each burgh. Under the two first Edwards, these general parliaments were called only when they intended to ask the advice or the pecuniary assistance of all the different orders of their subjects; but when they wanted only the counsels or contributions of their prelates or barons, who possessed the far greatest share of power and riches in the kingdom, they called only a particular parliament, or rather a great council consisting of these prelates and barons.

The number of representatives sent to parliament by each county, city, or borough, was not invariably fixed even as far as the end of the reign of Edward III. At length the use of sending two members began to be so uniformly observed, that by custom

it became a law. The number of towns and boroughs which sent members to parliament at that period was still more unfixed and variable, it depended very much on the sheriffs of the several counties to whom the king's writ was directed, commanding them to cause a certain number of citizens (most commonly two) to be elected for each city, and burgesses for each borough within their counties without any exception. To these officers, the inhabitants of small towns and boroughs, which were unable or unwilling to pay the wages of their representatives, frequently applied, and thus many of them were excused and many others overlooked.

Previous to the year 1343, the parliament had not been statedly divided into two houses, though each of the several orders of which it consisted, occasionally retired and consulted separately about their respective concerns, and in these separate consultations, the knights of shires sat commonly, if not constantly, with the earls and barons as being originally of the same order. But as soon as these knights ceased to be members of parliament by their own right, and were admitted only as elected representatives of the knights of their county, their union with the great barons was at an end, as the latter sat in their own right, and were answerable to none for their conduct, while the former being members elected, were certainly bound to have a particular regard for the interests and sentiments of their constituents. This union between the barons and knights of the shires was discountenanced, if not finally dissolved in 1343, when the king having called a parliament on the 23d of April, to ask their advice whether he should make a peace with France under the mediation of the Pope or not, desired the prelates and barons to deliberate together upon it, and the knights of coun-



ties and commons to assemble in the painted chamber to consult among themselves upon the same matter, and both to meet in full parliament on the 1st of May, to report their advice. Thus was introduced that institution, which has continued since with some short interruptions and small variations. Every spiritual and temporal lord received a particular summons to every parliament, and those who had not received such a writ, were not entitled to attend the assembly. The king occasionally exercised the prerogative of calling up to the house of lords by a particular summons, some of the most opulent and illustrious knights, though they did not hold their lands of the crown by barony, and such of them as were regularly summoned for a considerable time, became lords of parliament by virtue of these writs of summons. This honour was commonly continued to their heirs, who were summoned to parliament in the same manner.

In the reign of Richard II. was introduced the custom of creating barons by patent, which conferred upon them and their heirs-male the honours and dignity of a baron by a certain title, with all the other privileges of the peerage. Thus, at the end of this period, the house of lords consisted of barons of three different kinds, viz. barons by tenure, by writs of summon, and by patent. By those means the number of the members of the house of lords varied at every session according to the king's pleasure, which then secured to the crown a powerful influence in that house.

The house of commons, consisting of the knights of shires, with the representatives of cities and boroughs, was so completely formed at that time, that it was found necessary to chuse one of their members at the beginning of every session to preside in their debates, and make in their name the communications they thought proper, to the king

and the house of lords. Sir Peter More, knight of the shire for the county of Hereford, is the first upon record who filled that honourable office in the year 1377. During this period the sovereign made frequent applications to parliament for grants of money, which were often refused, and sometimes given. They commonly consisted of a tenth, a fifteenth, a twentieth, or some other proportion of the value of moveable goods of all the classes of people; the ornaments of churches, the horses and armours of knights, and the implements of husbandry only excepted.

In the statement of the most remarkable events of this period, the kingdom put under an interdict in 1203, the excommunication of king John in 1209, his deposition by the Pope in 1212, and the king of France employed to put it in execution under the promised reward of succeeding to the English throne, the resignation of the crown and the subjection of the kingdom of England in 1213, to the pretended superior sovereignty of the See of Rome, are as many strange and scandalous instances of the inordinate ambition of the Popes at that time, as of their despotism.

Among several branches of the royal revenues in the thirteenth century, it is curious to remark in Madox's History of the Exchequer, the strange business in which the king often interfered, and never without a present. The wife of Hugh de Neville gave the king two hundred hens, that she might lie one night with her husband, who was probably confined in some prison, which debarred her from having access to him, and she brought with her two sureties, who answered each for one hundred hens. Peter de Pararis gave twenty marks for leave to salt fish, as Peter Chevalier used to do. Richard de Neville gave twenty palfreys to obtain the king's request to Isolda Bisset, that she should

take him for a husband. Cling the Dean, paid one hundred marks that his whore and his children might be let out upon bail. The bishop of Winchester gave one ton of good wine for his not putting the king in mind to give a girdle to the countess of Albemarle. Robert de Veaux gave five of the best palfreys, that the king would hold his tongue about Henry Pinel's wife. (Hume's Hist. of England. vol. ii. p. 138.)

The Norman Conquest had considerably promoted the revival of learning in Britain, as William I. who had received a good education, was fond of the conversation of learned men, and advanced them to the highest dignities and richest benefices in the church; which excited an extraordinary ardour for literary pursuit among the clergy, and induced the most learned men on the continent to come over into Britain, where their example and instructions diffused the love and knowledge of letters, which made more rapid progress owing to the invention of the art of making paper, which took place at that time. However, until the end of the twelfth century, the clergy were the only persons who taught and practised physic as well as all other sciences; and we see in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, (vol. ix. p. 193,) that many of the bishops and other dignitaries of the church acted as physicians in ordinary to kings and princes, by which they acquired both riches and honours. Richard Fitz-Nigel, who died bishop of London in 1198, was apothecary to Henry II.

As to the genius and unruly manners of the age, it may not be improper to mention the quarrel which took place between the archbishops of Canterbury and York, in an assembly of the clergy summoned at London by cardinal Hagezuz, sent in 1176 as legate into Britain. As both the archbishops pretended to sit on his right hand this quea-

tion of precedency begat a controversy between them. The monks and retainers of the archbishop of Canterbury fell upon the archbishop of York, in the presence of the cardinal and of the synod, threw him to the ground, trampled him under foot, and so bruised him with blows, that he was taken up half dead, and his life was with difficulty saved from their brutality. The archbishop of Canterbury was obliged to pay a large sum of money to the legate in order to suppress all complaints with regard to this enormity. We may judge of the violence of military men and laymen, when the first members of the clergy could proceed to such extremities.

## APPENDIX.

*The most important Occurrences belonging to this Period are proved by the Testimony of the following Historians.*

For the Reigns of Henry II. Richard I. and John.

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| <p>Chronig. Norman, from p. 989 to p. 1003.<br/>             Math. Paris, passim, from p. 65 to p. 199.<br/>             Biographia Britannica, passim.<br/>             Lord Lyttleton's Hist. Henry II. vol. 4. 8vo.<br/>             Hist. Litter. de la France, tom. 9. p. 193, &amp;c. &amp;c.<br/>             Mem. sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie par St. Palaye.<br/>             Camden's Remains, p. 113, and following.<br/>             Hoveden's Annals, from p. 282 to 392, from p. 491 to 549, from 621 to 698, from 731 to 795.<br/>             Anglia Sacra, tom. 1st. p. 71 and following, l. 2. from p. 378 to . 391, and 512.</p> | <p>Will. Malmsbury, l. 1. p. 101. l. 2. p. 104. l. 3. p. 63, and passim, from p. 128 to 157.<br/>             Madox's Hist. Excheq. c. 12. c. 13. sect. 2, 3, 8. c. 14. and passim, from p. 86 to 88, and from 435 to 438.<br/>             Rymer Fœdera, passim, l. 1. from p. 15 to p. 208.<br/>             Eadmer, passim, from p. 56 to p. 137.<br/>             Fitz-Stephen, from p. 13 to p. 74.<br/>             Ducange's Gloss. Verb. <i>Tornamentum</i>, <i>Ignis Græcus</i>, &amp;c. &amp;c.<br/>             Pasquier Recherches, l. 9. c. 31.<br/>             Les Mœurs des Français par le Gendre, p. 53, and following.<br/>             Vita et Epist. Sancti Thomæ Cant.</p> |
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## For the Reigns of Henry III. Edward I. and Edward II.

- Statute of Merton, c. 9.  
 Statutes at Large, p. 6.  
 Hoveden's Annals, passim, from p. 492 to 811.  
 Blackstone's Introduction to the Great Charter, p. 43.  
 Mathieu Paris, p. 41, and following, and passim, from p. 200 to 256; from p. 376 to 448; from p. 484 to 566; from p. 668 to 679.  
 Rymer's Fœdera, vol. i. p. 198, and following, and passim from p. 215 to 286, 316, 448, 587; 630, 655, 675, 755, 777, 793, 802, 879, and following, vol. 3. p. 1. 47, 87, 167, 366, 481, 722, 770, 891, 907, &c. &c.  
 Fordun, lib. 10, c. 35, 37, 40, lib. 2. c. 10, 42, 31, 34, lib. 12, c. 2, 11.  
 Anglia Sacra, tom. 1st. p. 20, 37, 40, and following.  
 Statute of Marlborough, c. 16 and 20.  
 Parliamentary Hist. vol. 1st. passim.  
 Madox's Baronia Anglica, from p. 114 to 122.  
 Brady's Appendix, No. 106, 143, 213, 221, 222.  
 Froissart, lib. i. c. 13.

## For the Reigns of Edward III. and Richard II.

- Fordun, lib. 13, from c. 14 to 30, lib. 14, from c. 9 to 35th, lib. 22. c. 3. lib. 43. c. 14, 19, 21.  
 Froissart, lib. i. from c. 16 to the last passim, lib. 2. from c. 50 to 171 passim, lib. 3. from c. 25 to 129 passim.  
 Rymer Fœdera, vol. iv. passim from p. 20 to 98; from 137 to 188; from 225 to 258, 301, 600, vol v. p. 28, 422, 618, 686, 700, 870. vol. vi. passim from p. 121 to 229; 390, 456, 621. vol. vii. passim from p. 51 to 92; from 151 to 195; from 279 to 317, from 385 to 484; from 567 to 675; from 722 to 846. vol. 8. from p. 6 to 51.  
 Statutes at Large, 15 Edward III. 1 Richard II. 7. 13 Richard II. 3; 16 Richard II. 4, 21 Richard II.  
 Parliamentary Hist from p. 312 to 494.  
 Brady's Introduction, passim.  
 Anglia Sacra, vol. i. from p. 21 to 42. vol. ii. from p. 305 to 369.  
 Blackstone's Commentaries, passim.

## MEMORANDA

*Of some principal Events which occurred in the other States of Europe, from the year 1154 to 1399.*

A.D.

1160 Cardinals who were originally the parish priests at Rome, are invested by the Pope, Alexander III. with the exclusive right of voting for the election of the Popes.

A. D.

1177 Famous sea fighting at Lignano, between the fleet of Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, and the Venetian fleet, which won the victory. On that occasion, the Pope gave a ring to the Doge of Venice, and desired him to throw it into the sea, which he granted to him to be considered by him as his wife. Thence the ceremony of the Doge's marrying the Adriatic once a year, from his bucentaur or state barge, attended by those of all the nobility. When the bucentaur proceeds to a certain distance, on a signal given, a general silence ensues. Then the Doge, leaning over the water from the stern of his nuptial vessel, extends his right arm, holding in his hand a ring, which he drops into the bosom of his bride, on pronouncing these words, "*Thee, O Sea, we espouse, in token of our true and perpetual dominion over thee.*"

1190 The third crusade takes place. Greek fire (*Feu Grégeois*) thus called because it was invented by the Greeks, was used in great quantities not only by the Christians of all nations in the Holy Land, but also by the Turks. It is said to have been a composition of sulphur, bitumen and naphtha; it had a very strong and disagreeable smell, burnt with a livid flame, and so intense a heat, that it consumed even stone and metals. It was kept in phials and pots, and in these was discharged from machines upon the enemy. One of its most singular properties was, that water rather increased than abated its violence; but it yielded to several other things, particularly to sand, urine, and vinegar. (*Ducange, verbo Ignis Græcus.*)

Dramatic representations began during that century. A monk named Geoffrey, abbot of St. Albin in England, being at the head of a school, taught his pupils to perform in public a series of tragical scenes, in which the miracles wrought by St. Catherine were represented. Soon after, other miracles were represented in the open fields, where the Devil appeared in person on the stage, shearing the bristles of hogs, thence the old proverb, "Great cry, and little wool."

1204 The fourth crusade. Though the deliverance of the Holy Land was the principal object of all those enterprises, it did not prevent the pious adventurers from

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availing in their way to Palestine, of all the occasions that occurred of signalizing their valour ; this crusade offers a very extraordinary instance of it. When the French army going to the Holy Land had reached Venice, Alexis Comnene, son of Ysaac l'Ange, emperor of Constantinople, implored their assistance against his uncle, who had pulled out the eyes of the emperor, and usurped his throne. The French, induced by his promises, hastened to Constantinople, attended by some Venetian troops, took the town in six days, and re-instated Ysaac on the throne. A few days after he died, and was succeeded by his son Alexis, who then found pretences not to fulfil his promises towards the French army, which departed much disgusted with his ingratitude. The Greeks, enraged at the disorders and plunder which had attended the taking of Constantinople, hated Alexis for his having been the instigator of the expedition, and revolted against him as soon as the French army had disappeared. Murtzulph, a man of the lowest class of the common people, headed the rebels ; took Alexis prisoner, murdered him, and was proclaimed emperor. The French army no sooner heard of this revolution, than they returned to besiege again Constantinople, and took it by storm in spite of the obstinate resistance of the Greeks. Murtzulph was taken prisoner, and punished as ignominiously as he deserved.

The French being thus in possession of Constantinople, conferred the imperial crown on Baudouin, count of Flanders, on the second Sunday after Easter, in the year 1204 ; and giving up the expedition to the Holy Land, they employed all their means in keeping in obedience the empire they had just conquered, and which was called the Empire of the Latins. It lasted until the year 1262, when the Greeks revolted again, drove the French away, and placed Michael Paleologue on the imperial throne. This new empire of the Latins lasted nearly two hundred years, until the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II.

- 1212 Famous victory won against the Moors, by Alphonso IX. king of Castile, Peter king of Arragon, and Sancho king of Navarre. It is generally reported, that the number of the slain in that battle on the part

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of the Moors, amounted nearly to two hundred thousand.

1227. The Tartars, a new race of adventurers, emerge from the northern parts of Asia, over-run under Gengis-kan all the Saracen empire, and in imitation of former Conquerors, carry death and desolation wherever they march.

1229. Seaman's compass invented by Murphy, a Dutchman, first exhibited at Venice in 1260; improved by Giora of Naples, in 1302; its declination was discovered by Hartman, in 1538.

1241. Pope Gregory IX. having excommunicated and deposed Frederic II. emperor of Germany, offers to Lewis IX. king of France, to confer the imperial crown on his brother, Robert, count d'Artois. Lewis, far from being flattered with the offer, rejects it haughtily, and answers to the Pope, that Robert is quite satisfied with the honour of being the brother of the king of France.

The Hanse Towns or Hanseatic league begins. This confederation was only, properly speaking, a trade company composed of more than eighty of the most flourishing towns in Germany. That of Lubeck was the first, which began to associate with a few of the neighbouring towns against a set of privateers, which infested the coasts of the Baltic. The success of the association induced successively all the trading towns situated between the Rhine and Vistula to unite to it. Thus in a few years it reached the summit of its power and prosperity; its trade was immense, and continued so during nearly three hundred years, enriching Germany with the spoils of the whole world, as the maritime power of the Hanse Town was superior to any other existing at that period. The most remote nations respected and supported them. They even more than once overawed Sweden and Denmark, and disposed of their thrones. But the discovery of the Indies reviving the spirit of trade among all the nations, they soon became as many rivals to the Hanseatic league, and shackled by all sort of means the trade of that mighty confederation, and it was finally destroyed towards the middle of the sixteenth century, by the jealousy of Charles V. who wanted to concentrate in the Low



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Countries all the commerce of the world. The only towns of Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, still keeping the denomination of Hanse Towns, re-call a faint remembrance of their former existence, and enjoy under the favour of a still reputed name, some of the privileges which the foreign powers had granted to the Hanseatic league.

1248 The fifth crusade, where Lewis IX. signalized himself by the most wonderful valour; and was taken prisoner near Massouré, with two of his brothers, Alphonso and Charles.

1263 Aho, king of Norway, invades Scotland with one hundred and sixty sail, and lands twenty thousand men at the mouth of the Clyde; they are cut to pieces by Alexander III. who recovers the Western Isles.

1270 The sixth and last crusade, where Lewis IX. dies with the plague.

1273 The empire of the present Austrian family begins in Germany, by the election of Rodolphus I. a son to Albert the Wise.

1282 Sicilian Vespers, when the people of Sicily massacred in two hours time nearly eight thousand Frenchmen, whom king Charles of Anjou had left in the garrisons of the fortresses of the island. This conspiracy was executed on Easter-day, the first bell at Vespers being the signal. In the mean time the Sicilians acknowledged for their king Peter III. king of Aragon.

1298 Adolphus of Nassau, who had been elected emperor of Germany in 1292, is summoned by the electors of Mentz, Saxony, Brandenburg, with the ambassadors of the king of Bohemia and of the elector of Treves, to appear before their tribunal, and on his non-appearance, they solemnly declare by their sentence that he has forfeited the crown by doing nothing to increase either the glory or the power of the empire; and Albert duke of Austria, the eldest son of the late emperor Rodolphus I. is immediately elected to the imperial throne. The Pope highly disapproves the election of Albert, and charges the electors to proceed to a new election. In the mean time he assumes for himself the title of Vicar General of the Empire; and then seated on his throne, a sword on his side, and the

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crown of Constantine the Great on his head, he dismisses the ambassadors of Albert.

- 1302 Albert supported by Philip the Fair, assembles an army, marches against his enemies, puts to rout all their forces, and receives the submission of all the electors.

- 1303 Reconciliation of Albert with the Pope, who invites him to come over to Rome to receive the imperial crown, and gives him the kingdom of France as an ancient appendage of the Western Empire. In the mean time he issues excommunications against any one who should entertain the least doubt on the sovereignty of the empire over the kingdom of France.

Bonifacius VIII. throws an interdict over France; Philip the Fair summons an assembly of the states, and consults with them the measures to be adopted on that occasion, and it is agreed that a council shall be summoned immediately. Meanwhile the states vote an appeal to the future council against all that has been done by the Pope. Nogaret goes over to Rome apparently to signify the appeal to the Pope, but in fact to carry him away, and being joined by Sciarra Colonne, an inveterate enemy to Bonifacius, they surround him in the town of Agnania; a violent contest ensues, in which Colonne gives the Pope a slap on the face; and would have murdered him, if he had not been prevented from it by Nogaret. Bonifacius did not long survive the insult.

- 1307 Beginning of the republic of the Swiss, after the revolt of three of their cantons against the house of Austria, who pretended to extend its sovereignty over them; these cantons were Uri, Underwalden, and Schweitz: the latter gave its name to the republic, which increased successively by the accession of ten other cantons.

- 1308 Clement V. removes the Papal See to Avignon in France, where it remained nearly seventy years.

- 1310 The knights of St. John of Jerusalem, headed by their grand master, Foulques of Villaret, take the island of Rhodes from the Turks, and assume the name of Knights of Rhodes.

Abolition of the knights-templars, a monstrous act

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of wickedness and barbarity. The order of knights templars had arisen during the first fervour of the crusades; and uniting the two qualities the most popular in that age, devotion and valour, they had acquired from the piety of the faithful ample possessions in every country of Europe, especially in France. On no better evidence than that of two knights condemned by their superiors to perpetual imprisonment for their vices, all the templars in France were committed to prison on the same day, and charged with such enormous and absurd crimes, as are sufficient of themselves to destroy all the credit of the accusation. Above a hundred of these unhappy knights were put to the question, in order to extort from them a confession of their pretended guilt. The most resolute perished in the hands of their tormentors; forged confessions were imputed to others; fifty-four of them perished at Paris by the punishment of fire, and great numbers shared the same fate in other parts of the kingdom, and all their properties were confiscated. The grand master of the order, John de Melay, and another great officer of the order, were conducted to a scaffold erected before the church of Notre Dame at Paris; a full pardon was offered them on the one hand; the fire destined for their execution was shown them on the other; these gallant nobles still persisted in the protestations of their own innocence, and that of their order, and were instantly hurried into the flames by the executioner. The Pope Clement V. who then resided in France, abolished the whole order in a council assembled at Vienne in Dauphine. The elector of Mentz, who was commissioned to put this bloody decree in execution in Germany, softened its rigour by permitting the knights of the abolished order to enter with their properties into the Teutonic order, or in that of St. John of Jerusalem.

1313 The three daughters-in-law of Philip the Fair are convicted of adultery: Margaret of Burgundy, wife of Lewis Hutin, is put to death in her prison; Jane of Burgundy is pardoned by Philip the Long; and blanche of Burgundy saves her life by acknowledging that her marriage with Charles the Fair was null, on account of his being next kin to her to a prohibited degree.

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1314 Death of Clement V. The cardinals assemble at Carpentras, to name another Pope, but the divisions existing among them prevent their agreeing on any election, and the papal chair remains vacant for two years, when John XXII. was elected.

1324 Pope John XXII. undertakes to place the king of France, Charles the Fair, on the imperial throne. He accordingly in his quality of successor to St. Peter, sends a summons to the emperor Lewis V. of Bavaria, enjoining him to *resign his crown, to abstain from all regal functions, and submit his election to the judgment of the Holy See, as, without its approbation, nor he nor any other prince can pretend to have any right to the imperial crown.* Lewis assembles many princes and electors, enters in their presence a protest against this decision, and an appeal from it to a general council. The Pope, incensed at this unexpected resistance, issues a sentence of excommunication against Lewis, and absolves his subjects from their allegiance. Lewis enters a new protest and appeal against it.

1328 The emperor Lewis V. goes over to Rome, and induces the Romans to approve the deposing of John XXII. and the election of Peter de Corbiere, a friar of the order of St. Francis; who is accordingly installed to the pontifical chair, under the name of Nicolas V. But the king of France, and almost all the catholic princes oppose this election, and Corbiere is taken prisoner by the Pope, who died in 1334, ninety years old; he added the third crown to the pontifical tiara. The first had been introduced by Pope Hormisdas, and the second by Bonifacius VIII.

1338 In a diet summoned at Frankfort, the emperor Lewis V. gives a full account of all the enterprises of the Holy See during the last ten years against the majesty and independence of his crown, and there was adopted that famous constitution which is still considered as a pragmatic-sanction towards the Holy See. That fundamental law of the German empire enacts, that the imperial majesty and authority are under no other supremacy or superiority but that of God; that they are wholly conferred only by the votes of the electors; and that a prince, who has obtained the ma-

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... jority of their votes, must be considered as a legal king and emperor, and enjoy in that quality all the imperial prerogatives, and exercise all functions and rights belonging to his dignity, without waiting for any consent, approbation, or confirmation from the Pope, who is not entitled to give any; and that any person holding a principle contrary to this constitution, shall be considered as guilty of high treason, and punished accordingly with all the rigour of the laws.

1344 The tax imposed in France upon salt, and first introduced by Philip the Long, is increased by Philip of Valois, whom Edward III. jocosely called on that account, "the author of the *gabelle* law."

1346 Andrew of Hungary, the first husband of the famous Jane queen of Naples, is strangled by her orders. She married since three other princes, Lewis of Anjou, James of Avignon, and Otho of Brunswick.

1370 The crown of Scotland is inherited by Robert II. the first of the Stuarts, a son of the sister of the late king David II.

1379 Beginning of the schism. On the death of Gregory XI. Urban VI. was elected by all the cardinals who at that time happened to be at Rome; many of them who absented themselves, pretended that the violence of the people had prevented all possibility of a free election, and they elected in the same year Clement VII. who retired afterwards to Avignon. That schism lasted forty years, and ended only at the council of Constance.

*A list of the principal Learned or Illustrious Men  
who lived during that Period, pointing out the  
Year of their Death.*

- 1179 John of Salisbury, the Historian.  
St. Hildegard, the Abbess of  
Bingen; famous by her Revelations.  
1186 Godfrey of Viterbo, the Historian.  
1209 Rigord, the Historian.  
1226 St. Francis of Assise, the founder  
of all the Franciscan Begging  
Friars. It may be said of him  
what a poet said of Zenon,  
the chief of the Stoic sect,  
"*Exurire docet et discipulas invenit*;" he teaches to starve  
and finds disciples.  
1239 Mathew Paris, the Historian.  
1280 Albert the Great, bishop of  
Ratisbon, a celebrated Philosopher.  
1292 Roger Bacon; Astronomer  
and Natural Philosopher, discovered the art of making  
gunpowder, but that humane  
philosopher, dreading the  
consequences of communicating this discovery to the  
world, transposed, in the receipt of it, the letters of the  
Latin words, which signify  
powdered charcoal, (*Salis  
petre, luru, mope, can vbre  
carbonum pulvere.*) By this  
means, he rendered it difficult to discover this dangerous  
secret by the perusal of his works, and at the  
same time, secured to him-

self the honour of having  
known it, if it should be discovered by any other person.  
Roger Bacon was a man of  
great genius and profound  
learning in all branches of  
knowledge.

- 1274 St. Thomas Aquinas, the  
Divine. One day on his  
coming into the room of  
Innocent IV. when his holiness  
was employed in receiving  
and counting money; the  
Pope told him, "you see  
that the church is no longer  
in those times, when she  
was saying, "I have no gold  
nor silver."—"She is not, indeed," replied the Divine,  
"but she can neither say  
any longer to the Paralytic,  
*get up and walk.*"  
1304 William of Nangis, the Historian.  
1305 Wickliffe the Reformer, the  
first of any eminence who  
attacked the doctrine of the  
catholic church with great  
acuteness and spirit: he  
preached against the supremacy of the Pope. His followers were called Lollars.  
1308 John Fordun, a priest of  
Merns-shire. He wrote an  
History of Scotland.  
1400 Geoffrey Chaucer, the father  
of English poetry.

*A List of Cotemporary Princes, with the Date of their Death.*

<i>Popes.</i>					
Adrian VI. 1159	John Paleologue 1384	Ferdinand II. 1175	Charles VII. 1168		
Alexander III. 1181	Emanuel II. 1418	Alphonse IX. 1214	Canut 1192		
Luce III. 1185	John Paleologue 1389	Henry I. 1217	Suetcher 1211		
Urban III. 1187		Ferdinand III. 1252	Eric X. 1218		
Gregory VIII. 1187		Alphonse X. 1284	John I. 1223		
Clement III. 1191	<i>Empr. of the Latins.</i>	Henry IV. 1295	Eric XI. 1250		
Celestine III. 1198	Baudouin 1205	Sancho IV. 1292	Valdemar 1276		
Innocent III. 1216	Henry 1216	Ferdinand IV. 1312	Magnus 1290		
Honorius III. 1227	Peter of Courtenay 1220	Alfonse XI. 1350	Birger 1326		
Gregory IX. 1241	Robert de Courtenay 1229	Peter the Cruel 1369	Magnus 1363		
Celestine IV. 1242	Baudouin II. 1261	Henry II. 1379	Albert 1387		
Innocent IV. 1254	Michael Paleologue 1283	John I. 1390	Margaret 1412		
Alexander IV. 1261		Henry III. 1406	<i>Kings of Poland.</i>		
Urban IV. 1264			Miclas de-posed & re-instated 1202		
Clement IV. 1268	<i>Emperors of the West</i>	<i>Kings of Portugal.</i>	Casimir II. 1194		
Gregory X. 1276	Henry VI. 1198	Alphonse I. 1185	Lesque V. 1226		
Innocent V. 1276	Philip 1208	Sanche I. 1212	Boleslas 1279		
Adrian V. 1276	Otho IV. 1218	Alphonse II. 1246	Lesque 1289		
John XXI. 1277	Frederic II. 1250	Alphonse III. 1279	Primislav 1296		
Nicolas III. 1280	Conrad* 1254	Denis 1325	Ladislav de-posed 1300		
Martin IV. 1285	Rodolphus I. 1291	Alfonse IV. 1357	Venceclav 1305		
Honoratus IV. 1289	Adolphus of Nassau 1298	Peter the Justicier 1367	Ladislav re-stored 1333		
Nicolas IV. 1292	Albert I. 1308	Ferdinand I. 1383	Casimir III. 1370		
Celestine V. 1294	Henry of Luxembourg 1313	John 1433	Lewis 1382		
Bonifacius VIII. 1303		<i>Kings of Scotland</i>	Ladislav Jagellon 1434		
Benedict X. or XI. 1304	Lewis V. 1347	William 1214			
Clement V. 1314	Charles IV. 1378	Alexander II. 1249	<i>Turkish Empire.</i>		
John XXII. 1334	Venzeslaus 1400	Alexander III. 1286	Ottoman Family.		
Benedict XI. or XII. 1342	<i>Kings of France.</i>	John Baliol 1303	Osman or Ottoman 1326		
Clement VI. 1352	Philip II. the August 1223	Robert Bruce 1329	Orcan 1357		
Innocentius VI. 1362	Lewis VIII. 1226	David II. 1370	Amurat I. 1388		
Urban V. 1370	Lewis IX. 1270	Robert II. 1390	Matizet I. 1402		
Gregory XI. 1378	Philip III. the Hardy* 1285	Robert III. 1406	<i>Dukes of Russia.</i>		
Urban VI. 1389	Philip IV. the Fair 1314		Alexander 1300		
Bonifacius IX. 1404	Lewis X. 1316	<i>Kings of Denmark.</i>	Daniel Alexandrowitz 1327		
<i>Emperors of the East.</i>	Hutin 1316	Valdemar I. 1182	George Daniclowitz 1330		
Alexis Comnene II. 1183	Philip V the Long 1321	Canut VI. 1202	Demetrius Michaclowitz 1330		
Andronic I. 1185	Charles IV. the Fair 1328	Eric VI. 1250	Iwan Daniclowitz 1366		
Isaac Lange 1204	Philip of Valois 1330	Abel 1252			
Alexius III. 1204	John II. 1364	Christophe 1259			
Alexius IV. 1204	Charles V. 1380	Eric VII. 1286			
Murtzulphe 1204	Charles VI. 1422	Eric VIII. 1321			
Andronic II. 1332		Christopulus II. 1333			
Andronic, Jun. 1341		Waldemar III. 1375			
John Catacuscene 1357	<i>Kings of Spain.</i>	Olaus V. 1387			
	Sancho III. 1158	Margaret 1412			
		<i>Kings of Sweden.</i>			
		Eric IX. 1162			

\* Interregnum of 30 years, during which Henry de Thuringe, William count of Holland, Richard and Alphonse were kings of the Romans.

## PERIOD THE SIXTH.

FROM THE REIGN OF HENRY IV. TO THAT OF HENRY VII.

HENRY IV. Thirteenth King from the Conquest.

[Duke of Lancaster, grandson of Edward III.; born 1367, crowned October 13, 1399; married Johanna daughter of the duke of Brittany, after the death of his first wife, daughter of the earl of Hereford, February 1404; died at Westminster, March 20, 1413, aged 46; buried at Canterbury.]

*Ann. 1399, 1400.*

In the very first parliament summoned by Henry, the peers on their assembling, broke out into violent animosities against each other; forty challenges were mutually given; and the words *liar* and *traitor* resounded from all quarters. All these combats were prevented by the king's authority. Soon after the earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon and lord Spencer, who were now degraded from the titles conferred on them by Richard, entered into a conspiracy with the earl of Salisbury and lord Lumley for raising an insurrection, and for seizing the king's person at Windsor; but the treachery of Rutland gave him warning of the danger. He suddenly withdrew to London, and appeared next day at Kingston, at the head of



twenty thousand men, and his enemies, unable to resist his power, dispersed themselves. But the adherents of the king were hot in the pursuit of the leaders of the conspiracy, who, being successively taken prisoners, were beheaded without farther ceremony, according to the custom of the times. The earl of Rutland, who had betrayed them after having seduced them into the conspiracy, was seen carrying on a pole the head of lord Spencer, his brother-in-law, which he presented to Henry as a testimony of his loyalty. This infamous man, who was soon after duke of York by the death of his father, and first prince of the blood, had been instrumental in the murder of his uncle the duke of Gloucester; had then deserted Richard, by whom he was trusted; had conspired against the life of Henry, to whom he had sworn allegiance; and now he triumphantly boasted in the face of the world of the infamous part he acted in the execution of the associates he had betrayed.

*Ann. 1401, 1402.*

Though Henry's abilities might ward off any dangerous revolution, it was justly to be apprehended, that his usurped authority could with difficulty be brought to equal that of his predecessors, unless his precarious title was supported by all means which could have any influence over the minds of the people; and as he was sensible that superstition was one of the most powerful, he resolved, by every expedient, to attach the clergy to his cause. He accordingly engaged the parliament to pass a law, which enacted, that when any heretic, who relapsed or refused to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the secular arm by the bishop or his commissaries, he should be committed to the flames by the civil magistrate before the whole people; and

immediately, William Sautré, rector of St. Osithes in London, who had been condemned by the convocation of Canterbury, atoned for his erroneous opinions by the penalty of fire.

Great apprehensions were also entertained, that on account of Richard's marriage with the daughter of the king of France, the great preparations which were now going on in that country, were destined to revenge his death; but on Henry's agreeing that the queen Isabella, whose marriage had never been consummated, should return to France, Charles VI. content with recovering his daughter, laid aside his preparations, and renewed the truce between the kingdoms.

In these circumstances, an insurrection took place in Wales. Owen Glendour, descended from the ancient princes of that country, had become obnoxious on account of his attachment to Richard; and lord Gray of Ruthyn, who was closely connected with the new king, thought the opportunity favourable for taking possession of his neighbour's estates. Glendour recovered his possession by the sword. Henry sent assistance to Gray; the Welch took part with Glendour, who long sustained this war by his valour and activity. As he committed devastations promiscuously on all the English, he infested the estate of the earl of Marche, whose uncle, Sir Edmund Mortimer, led out the retainers of the family, and gave battle to the Welch chieftain; but his troops were routed, and he was taken prisoner, as well as the earl himself; who, though a mere boy, had taken the field with his followers; Glendour carried them into Wales. The young Mortimer, whom the late king had declared in parliament heir to the crown, was, on that account, too much dreaded and hated by Henry for his not allowing the earl to remain in captivity, and he re-

fused accordingly to the earl of Northumberland, permission to treat of his ransom with Glendour.

The Scots shortly after, began to renew their ancient disturbances, and the peers voluntarily undertook to attend the king in an expedition against Scotland, each of them at the head of a certain number of his retainers. Henry conducted this army to Edinburgh, of which he easily made himself master; and he there summoned Robert III. to do homage to him for his crown. But finding that the Scots would neither submit nor give him battle, he returned in three weeks, and disbanded his army.

In the subsequent season, the earl of Douglas, at the head of twelve thousand men, committed devastations in the northern counties of England. But on his return home, he was overtaken by the Percies, and a fierce battle ensued, where the Scots were totally routed. Douglas himself was taken prisoner with the duke of Albany, the earls of Fife, Angus, Murray, Orkney, and many others of the gentry and nobility. When the king received this intelligence, he sent the earl of Northumberland orders not to ransom his prisoners, which that nobleman regarded as his right by the laws of war revived in that age. Henry intended to detain them, that he might be able by their means to make an advantageous peace with Scotland; but by this policy he gave a fresh disgust to the family of Percy, to which he was principally indebted both for his security and his crown.

*Ann. 1403, 1404.*

Rebellion of Northumberland united with Glendour and the earl of Douglas, to whom he gave liberty when war was ready to break out. Northumberland being seized with a sudden illness,

his son Harry Percy took the command of the troops. The king met them at Shrewsbury, with an army which he had intended to act against the Scots. The evening before the battle, Percy sent a manifesto to Henry, in which he renounced his allegiance, and enumerated all the grievances of which he pretended the nation had reason to complain. He upbraided him with the perjury of which he had been guilty, when, on landing at Ravenspur, he had sworn upon the Gospel, that he had no other intention than to recover the duchy of Lancaster, and that he would ever remain a faithful subject to king Richard. He had aggravated his guilt in first dethroning, then murdering that prince, and in usurping on the title of the house of Mortimer, to whom both by lineal succession, and by declarations of parliament, the throne, when vacant by Richard's demise, did of right belong.

This manifesto was well calculated to inflame the quarrel between the parties; the bravery of the two leaders promised an obstinate engagement, and the equality of the armies, which were both of twelve thousand men, gave reason to expect a great effusion of blood, and a very doubtful issue to the combat. No battle, indeed, may be found in those ages where the shock was more terrible and more constant; feats of valour almost incredible were performed on both sides. But while the armies were contending in the most furious manner, the death of Percy by an unknown hand, decided the victory, and the royalists prevailed. There are said to have fallen that day on both sides near two thousand three hundred gentlemen; but the persons of the greatest distinction were on the king's. About six thousand private men perished, of whom two thirds were of Percy's army. The earls of Worcester and Douglas were taken prisoners; the former was beheaded at Shrewsbury,

the latter was treated with the courtesy due to his rank and merit.

The earl of Northumberland, who had levied a fresh army to join his son, hearing of the defeat at Shrewsbury, dismissed his forces, and came to the king at York, where he pretended that his sole intention in arming, was to mediate between the parties. Henry thought proper to accept of the apology, and even granted him a pardon for his offence. All the other rebels were treated with equal lenity.

*Ann. 1405 to 1410.*

The extinction of one rebellion only seemed to give rise to another. The archbishop of York entered into a confederacy with the earl of Nottingham and the earl of Northumberland, to dethrone the king, and set young Mortimer in his place. This powerful combination took the field, and published a manifesto in the same style and to the same purpose as that lately published by Percy. The earl of Westmoreland, who had been sent against them with a very inferior force, had recourse to a stratagem which had its full effect; he demanded a conference, to which they readily acquiesced. The chiefs on each side met at Skipton near York, and entered upon the subject of their grievances and complaints; the earl of Westmoreland heard them with great patience, and begged them to propose the remedies. He approved of every expedient which they suggested, and granted them all their demands; he also engaged that Henry should give them entire satisfaction. When he saw them pleased with the facility of his concessions, he observed to them, that since amity was now, in effect, restored between them, it were better on both sides to dismiss their forces, which otherwise would prove

an insupportable burthen to the country. The archbishop and the earl of Nottingham immediately gave directions to that purpose; but Westmoreland, who had secretly issued contrary orders to his army, seized the two rebels without resistance, and carried them to the king. Finding that sir William Gascoigne the chief justice, made some scruple of acting on such an occasion against an archbishop, Henry appointed for judge, sir William Fulthorpe, who, without any indictment, trial, or defence, pronounced sentence of death upon the prelate, which was presently executed. This was the first instance in England of a capital punishment inflicted on a bishop. The earl of Nottingham was condemned and executed in the same summary manner. The earl of Northumberland found safety by flying into Scotland; but he was slain some time after, in an incursion, by the sheriff of Yorkshire.

About the same time, fortune gave Henry an advantage over that neighbour, who, by his situation, was most enabled to disturb his government. Robert III. king of Scots, was very quiet and inoffensive in his conduct. But the duke of Albany, who had more abilities and a more violent disposition, had assumed the government of the state; and not satisfied with present authority, he entertained the criminal purpose of extirpating his brother's children, and of acquiring the crown to his own family. He threw in prison David, his eldest nephew, who there perished by hunger. James, the younger brother, remained; and Robert, sensible of his son's danger, embarked him on board a ship, with a view of sending him to France, under the protection of that friendly power. But the ship being taken by the English, prince James, a boy about nine years of age, was carried to London, and Henry refused to restore him to his liberty. Robert, unable to bear the shock of this misfor-

tune, died soon after, leaving the government in the hands of his brother. Henry, while he retained such a pledge as the true heir to the throne, was sure of keeping the duke of Albany in dependence, or, if offended, to take ample revenge upon the usurper. But though the king, by detaining James in the English court, had shown himself deficient both in generosity and justice, he made ample amends by giving that prince an excellent education, which afterwards qualified him for the throne, when he was restored to it.

*Ann. 1411, 1412.*

Henry, knowing that one great source of the national discontent against his predecessor, was the inactivity of his reign, fomented the animosities between the families of Burgundy and Orleans, by which the government of France was, during that period, so much distracted. He first entered into treaty with the duke of Burgundy, and sent that prince a small body of troops, which supported him against his enemies. Soon after, he hearkened to more advantageous proposals made him by the duke of Orleans, and dispatched a greater body to support that party. But the leaders of the opposite faction having made a temporary accommodation, the interests of the English were sacrificed.

During the greater part of this reign, the king was obliged to court popularity, and accordingly he allowed the house of commons to assume powers which had not been exercised by their predecessors. In the first year of Henry, they obtained a law, that no judge, in concurring with any iniquitous measures, should be excused by pleading the orders of the king, or even the danger of his own life from the menaces of the sovereign. In the second year they insisted on maintaining the practice of

not granting any supply before they received an answer to their petitions, which was a tacit manner of bargaining with the prince. In the fifth, they desired the king to remove from his household four persons who had displeased them, among whom was his own confessor, and though he told them that he knew of no offence which these men had committed, he complied with the request. In the sixth year, they voted the king supplies, but appointed treasurers of their own to see the money disbursed for the purposes intended, and required them to deliver in their accounts to the house. In the eighth year, they proposed, for the regulation of the government and household, thirty important articles, which were all agreed to, and they even obliged all the members of council, all the judges, and all the officers of the household to swear to the observance of them. But the great authority of the commons was but a temporary advantage, arising from the present situation, and when the king had overcome all his domestic difficulties, he plainly told them, that he would have no novelties introduced, and would enjoy his prerogative. However, on the whole, the limitations of the government seem to have been more sensibly felt, and more carefully maintained by Henry than by any of his predecessors. He tried to procure a settlement of the crown on himself and his heirs male, thereby tacitly excluding the females, and transferring the salic law into the English government. He thought that if he could once accustom the nation to the practice of excluding women, the title of the earl of Marche would gradually be neglected and forgotten; but he failed in this attempt: the house of commons, in a subsequent session, applied with such earnestness for a new settlement of the crown, that Henry yielded to their request, and



agreed to the succession of the princesses of his family.

*Ann. 1413.*

Henry was so much engaged in defending the crown he had usurped, that he had no leisure to look at any opportunity of performing any action which might redound to the honour or advantage of the nation; and his reign, though busy and active, produced few events that deserve to be transmitted to posterity. His health declined some months before his death, which happened in the forty-sixth year of his age and the thirteenth of his reign. He was twice married; by his first wife Mary de Bohun, daughter and co-heir of the earl of Hereford, he had four sons, Henry his successor to the throne, Thomas, duke of Clarence, John, duke of Bedford, and Humphry, duke of Gloucester. His second wife Jane, daughter of the king of Navarre, and widow of the duke of Brittany, brought him no issue.

An inordinate ambition never allies with virtue, and leads too often to the greatest crimes, which, though occasionally crowned with success, never fail to stamp with an indelible stain the name and character of the offender. Had Henry's power been lawfully acquired, his prudence, vigilance, and foresight in maintaining it, his command of temper, his courage both military and political, should be admirable; but how could history and posterity bestow any praises upon a perjurer, a traitor, a regicide, and an usurper? The order of the Bath was instituted at his coronation; and at the same period, Westminster-abbey and Westminster-hall were rebuilt and enlarged. Ten years after, Guildhall in London was built.

## HENRY V. Fourteenth King from the Conquest.

[Eldest son of Henry IV. born 1388; succeeded his father April 9, 1413; married the princess Catherine of France, May 30, 1420; died at Rouen, August 31, 1422: aged 34; buried at Westminster.]

*Ann.* 1413, 1414.

The remorse and jealousies by which Henry IV. was continually haunted, had so much weakened his mind during the latter years of his life, that he had entertained suspicions even with regard to the fidelity of his eldest son, and had excluded him from all share in public business. He was no less displeased to see the prince at the head of armies, where his martial talents, though useful to the support of government, acquired him a renown which he thought might prove dangerous to his own authority. The active spirit of Henry thus restrained from its proper exercise, broke out into debauchery and extravagancies of every kind, which threw him among companions of the lowest station. There even remains a tradition, that when heated with liquor and jollity, he scrupled not to accompany his riotous associates in attacking the passengers on the streets and highways, and despoiling them of their goods. This extreme of dissoluteness was very disagreeable to his father. But the nation in general considered the young prince with more indulgence, and observed so many gleams of generosity, spirit, and magnanimity in his character, that they never ceased hoping for his amendment. There happened an incident which encouraged these

agreeable conjectures. A riotous companion of the prince's had been indicted before Gascoigne the chief justice, for some misdemeanour; and Henry was not ashamed to appear at the bar with the criminal to give him countenance and protection, but being exasperated at the issue of the trial, he proceeded to insult the magistrate, and even struck him in open court. Gascoigne, mindful of the character which he then bore, and the majesty of the sovereign and of the laws he had to sustain, ordered the prince to be carried to prison for his rude behaviour. The prince peaceably submitted to this sentence, and made reparation for his error by acknowledging it. It is reported, that when this transaction was mentioned to the king, he could not help exclaiming in a transport, "happy is the king that has a magistrate endowed with courage to execute the laws upon such an offender; still more happy in having a son willing to submit to such a chastisement."

The first steps taken by the young prince on his ascending the throne, confirmed all the prepossessions entertained in his favour. He called together his former companions, acquainted them with his intended reformation, exhorted them to imitate his example, but strictly inhibited them, till they had given proofs of their sincerity in this particular, from appearing any more in his presence, and he thus dismissed them with liberal presents. The wise ministers of his father, who had checked his riots, were received with all the marks of favour and confidence. Gascoigne himself met with praises instead of reproaches for his past conduct and was exhorted to persevere in the same rigorous and impartial execution of the laws. He expressed the deepest sorrow for the fate of the unhappy Richard, performed his funeral obsequies with pomp and solemnity, and cherished all those who had distinguished themselves by their loyalty and attach-

ment towards him. He received with singular courtesy and favour the young earl of Marche, and by this magnanimity so gained on the gentle and unambitious nature of his competitor, that he remained ever after sincerely attached to him. The family of Percy was restored to its fortunes and honours. All party distinctions seemed to be buried in oblivion, as all men united in their attachment to Henry, and the defects of his title were forgotten amidst the personal regard which was universally paid to him.

The heresy of Wickliffe or Lollardism, as it was called, began to spread more and more every day. The head of this sect was sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, a nobleman who had distinguished himself by his valour and military talents, and had acquired the esteem both of the late and of the present king. His high character and his zeal for the new sect, pointed him out to Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, who, considering his punishment as the surest means to strike a terror among the whole party, applied to Henry for a permission to indict lord Cobham. But the generous nature of the prince being averse to such sanguinary measures, he represented to the primate that all gentle means ought first to be tried, and that he himself would endeavour by a conversation with Cobham, to reconcile him to the catholic faith. But he found him so inflexible in his opinions, that he could no longer oppose his indictment, and the sentence issued against him by the primate, with the assistance of his three suffragans, condemned him to the flames. Cobham, however, escaping from the tower before the day appointed for his execution, privately went among his party, and stimulating their zeal, led them up to London to take a signal revenge of his enemies. But the king coming by night with his guards into St. Giles's-Fields, seized such of the

conspirators as appeared; some were executed; the greater number pardoned. Cobham himself who made his escape by flight, was not brought to justice till four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor, and his body was burnt on the gibbet in execution of the sentence pronounced against him as a heretic.

The parliament which was summoned immediately after the detection of Cobham's conspiracy, passed severe laws against the Lollards, and enacted, that besides suffering capital punishment when convicted before the ordinary, they should also forfeit their lands and goods to the king. Yet, after having acted so completely in unison with the views of the clergy on that respect, this very parliament, when the king demanded supply, renewed the offer formerly pressed upon his father, and entreated him to seize all ecclesiastical revenues, and convert them to the use of the crown. The clergy alarmed, endeavoured to divert the blow, by giving occupation to the king, and by persuading him to undertake a war against France, in order to recover his lost right to that kingdom. The dying injunction of the late king to his son, had been also, not to allow the English to remain long in peace, which was apt to breed intestine commotions, but to employ them in foreign expeditions, by which the nobility, in sharing his dangers, might attach themselves to his person, and all the restless spirits find occupation for their inquietude. The natural disposition of Henry sufficiently inclined him to follow this advice, and the civil disorders now existing in France opened a full career to his ambition.

*Ann. 1415, 1416, 1417.*

The military part of the feudal system, which was the essential circumstance of it, is entirely abo-

lished; and certain commissioners are empowered to take in each county, a review of all the freemen able to bear arms, to divide them into companies, and to keep them in readiness for resisting an enemy.—(*Rymer*, v. ix. p. 254.)

The king sends over ambassadors to Paris, offering a perpetual peace and alliance, but demanding Catherine the French king's daughter in marriage, two millions of crowns as her portion, one million six hundred thousand as the arrears of king John's ransom, and the immediate possession and full sovereignty of Normandy, and of all other provinces which had been ravished from England by the arms of Philip Augustus, together with the superiority over Brittany and Flanders. The court of France offers the princess in marriage, with a portion of eight hundred thousand crowns, the entire sovereignty of Guienne, with the annexation of Perigord, Rouergue, Saintonge, Angoumon, and other territories to that province. Henry rejects these conditions, and having assembled a great fleet and army at Southampton, he invites all the nobility and military men of the kingdom to attend him, and hastens to the sea side with the purpose of embarking for his expedition. But he unexpectedly found himself in danger from a conspiracy which was happily detected in its infancy. The earl of Cambridge, second son of the late duke of York, having married the sister of the earl of Marche, had zealously embraced the interests of that family, and had held some conferences with lord Scrope of Masham, and sir Thomas Grey of Heton, about the means of recovering to that nobleman his right to the crown of England. The conspirators being seized, acknowledged their guilt, and were immediately tried, condemned, and executed. The earl of Marche accused of having given his approbation

to the conspiracy, received a general pardon from the king.

This business being thus concluded, Henry put to sea, and landed near Harfleur, at the head of six thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand foot, mostly archers. He began immediately the siege of that place, which, though valiantly defended, was obliged to capitulate. The fatigues of this siege, and the unusual heat of the season, had so wasted the English army, that Henry, who had dismissed his transports as they could not anchor in an open road upon the enemy's coasts, found himself under the necessity of marching by land to Calais before he could reach a place of safety. A French army of fourteen thousand men at arms and forty thousand foot was at this time assembled in Normandy, under the constable d'Albret, a force so superior to the English army, that Henry cautiously offered to sacrifice his conquest of Harfleur, for a safe passage to Calais. But his proposal being rejected, he determined to make his way through all the opposition of the enemy. That he might not discourage his army by the appearance of flight, he made slow journies till he reached the Somme, which he purposed to pass at the same place, where Edward, in a like situation, had escaped from Philip of Valois. But he found the ford rendered impassable and guarded by a strong body; and he was obliged to march higher up the river to seek for a safe passage. He was continually harassed in his march, and found every where, bodies of troops ready to oppose his attempts; his soldiers languished with sickness, and his affairs seemed to be reduced to a desperate situation, when he succeeded in seizing by surprise a passage near St. Quintin, and he safely carried over his army. But the enemy soon passed the Somme, and threw them-

selves full in his way to intercept his retreat. He observed the French army drawn up in the plains of Azincourt, and so posted, that it was impossible for him to proceed on his march without coming to an engagement. His situation was exactly similar to that of Edward at Crecy, and that of the Black Prince at Poitiers, and the memory of these glorious events, inspiring the English with courage, made them hope for a like deliverance from their present difficulties.

Henry having to fight against an army four times more numerous than his own, observed the same prudent conduct which had been followed by these illustrious generals, and obtained the same success.

No battle was ever more fatal to France, by the number of princes and nobility slain, or taken prisoners. Among the former were six princes of the blood, the constable, and John of Montaigu, archbishop of Sens and chancellor. The most eminent prisoners were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts d'Eu, Vendome, and Richemont, and the mareschal of Boucicaut. The killed are computed on the whole at ten thousand men, and the prisoners amounted to fourteen thousand. The person of chief note who fell among the English, was the duke of York.

This victory had the same consequences as those of Crecy and Poitiers; in all of them the English princes, instead of pushing the French with vigour, and taking advantage of their consternation, seem rather to have relaxed their efforts, and to have allowed the enemy leisure to recover from his losses. Henry, immediately after the battle of Azincourt, continued his march to Calais, where he carried his prisoners, and thence to England; he even concluded a truce of two years with the enemy.

During this interruption of hostilities from England, France was a prey to all the furies of civil war



excited by the factions of Burgundy, Orleans, and Armagnac, and fomented by the intrigues of the queen Isabella of Bavaria, as well known for her ambition and implacable spirit of revenge, as she was generally despised for her avarice and gallantries. She had been hitherto an inveterate enemy to the Burgundian faction; but the great treasures she had amassed having been seized at the instigation of the count of Armagnac, and being herself confined at Tours under a guard, she no longer scrupled to enter into a correspondence with the duke of Burgundy, (*Jean sans peur*.) She even extended her animosity to her son the Dauphin Charles, a youth of sixteen years, who was entirely governed by the faction of Armagnac. The duke of Burgundy in concert with her entered France at the head of a great army, and made himself master of the principal towns in Picardy and Champaign, and of many others in Normandy, Burgundy, and in the neighbourhood of Paris. Meanwhile his partizans raised a commotion in Paris; one of his captains, received into the city during the night, headed the insurrection of the people, which in a moment became so impetuous that nothing could oppose it. The person of the king was seized, the Dauphin made his escape with great difficulty; great numbers of the faction of Armagnac were immediately butchered; the count himself, and many persons of note, were thrown into prison, and soon after put to death by the populace, as well as all the other nobility who were there confined.

*Ann.* 1418, 1419.

Henry invades Normandy at the head of twenty-five thousand men, succeeds in subduing without any considerable opposition from any quarter all the lower Normandy, and having received a rein-

forcement of fifteen thousand men from England, he forms the siege of Rouen. The cardinal des Ursins, attempting to incline him to moderate his pretensions, he replied to him, "Do you not see, that God has led me hither as by the hand? France has no sovereign; I have just pretensions to that kingdom; every thing is here in the utmost confusion; no one thinks of resisting me. Can I have a more sensible proof that the Being who disposes of empires, has determined to put the crown of France upon my head?"

Henry, however, still continued to negotiate with his enemies, and endeavoured to obtain more secure though less considerable advantages. He made at the same time offers of peace to the queen and duke of Burgundy, on one hand, who having possession of the king's person, carried the appearance of legal authority, and to the Dauphin on the other, who being the undoubted heir to the monarchy was adhered to by every one that paid any regard to the true interests of their country. After many negociations, the king offered Isabella and the duke of Burgundy to make peace with them, to marry the princess Catherine, and to accept of all the provinces ceded to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigni, with the addition of Normandy, which he was to receive in full and entire sovereignty. These terms were submitted to; there remained only some circumstances to adjust for the entire completion of the treaty; but in this interval, the duke of Burgundy secretly concluded his treaty with the Dauphin; and these two princes agreed to share the royal authority during king Charles's life time, and to unite their arms in order to expel foreign enemies. The two princes agreed to an interview, where the means of rendering effectual their common attack on the English were to be concerted; but how both or either of them could

with safety enter upon this conference, was not an easy matter to settle. The assassination of the duke of Orleans lately perpetrated by the duke of Burgundy, and still more, his open avowal of the deed, and defence of the doctrine, tended so much to dissolve all the bands of civil society, that even men of honour who detested the example, might deem it just, on a favourable opportunity, to retaliate upon the author. The duke, therefore, who neither dared to give nor could pretend to expect any trust, agreed to all the contrivances for mutual security, which were proposed by the ministers of the Dauphin. The bridge of Montereau was chosen for the place of interview. The gates on each side were guarded, one by the officers of the Dauphin, the other by those of the duke. The princes were to enter into the intermediate space by the opposite gates, accompanied each by ten persons; but in spite of all these precautions, Tanneui du Châtel, and others of the Dauphin's retainers, who had been attached to the duke of Orleans, no sooner entered the bridge than they rushed sword in hand upon the duke of Burgundy, and murdered him. All his friends who accompanied him shared his fate, or were taken prisoners.

This unexpected incident changed the whole state of affairs. The queen Isabella, the court of the king Charles, his ministers, and the city of Paris, broke out into the highest fury against the Dauphin. But above all, Philip count of Charolois, now duke of Burgundy, resolved to revenge the murder of his father by any means, and to prosecute the assassin to the utmost extremity. A league was immediately concluded at Arras, between him and the king of England. Count of Charolois, without stipulating any thing for himself, except the prosecution of his father's murder, and the marriage of Henry's brother the duke of Bedford, with his sister, was

willing to sacrifice the kingdom to Henry's ambition; and he agreed to every demand made by that monarch.

*Ann. 1420, 1421.*

Henry goes to Troyes, accompanied by his brothers the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, and is met there by the duke of Burgundy. The imbecility into which Charles had fallen, making him incapable of seeing any thing but through the eyes of those who attended him, the treaty already concerted among the parties, was immediately drawn, signed, and ratified. Henry's will seemed to be a law throughout the whole negotiation; nothing was attended to but his advantages. It was accordingly stipulated in this astonishing treaty, that Henry should espouse the princess Catherine, a daughter of the French king; that Charles during his life time should enjoy the title and dignity of king of France; that Henry should be declared and acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be entrusted with the present administration of the government; that that kingdom should pass to his heirs; that France and England should for ever be united under one king, but should still retain their several usages, customs, and privileges; that all the princes, peers, vassals, and communities of France should swear, that they would both adhere to the future succession of Henry, and pay him present obedience as regent; that this prince should unite his arms to those of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to subdue the adherents of Charles the pretended Dauphin, and that these three princes should make no peace or truce with him but by common consent and agreement.

Such were the principal articles of this famous treaty of Troyes, which was to transfer the crown

of France to a stranger who had not the least title to it ; for besides the insuperable objections formerly opposed to Edward III.'s pretensions, if female succession were admitted, and the pretended right of Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, and mother of Edward III. was to be preferred to that of the daughters of the three sons of Philip the Fair, who had successively ascended the throne of France, Edward's right whatever it might be had devolved on the house of Mortimer, and not on Henry, who was not heir to that monarch. In a few days after he married the princess Catherine, carried his father-in-law to Paris, put himself in possession of that capital, and obtained a ratification of the treaty of Troyes from the parliament of Paris, or rather from the part of its members which had remained in the capital, as the other part, transferred to Poitiers by the Dauphin, entered a strong protest against the treaty. It has been erroneously stated by Rabin, Hume, Dr. Henry, &c. &c. that on the 10th of December 1420, an assembly of the states general was held at Paris, in which the treaty of Troyes was confirmed and declared to be a public and perpetual law of the kingdom ; it is a positive fact that no assembly of the states general was convened at that period, nor even during the whole reign of Charles VI.

It is to be remarked, that in the *lit de justice* held at Paris on the 23d of December 1420, Charles VI. mentioning the king of England, gives him the appellation of *his beloved son, heir, and regent of the kingdom*, while in the same acts he calls his own son and only heir to his crown, *Charles pretended Dauphin*. The same act declares also guilty of high treason, all the accomplices of the murder of the duke of Burgundy, without mentioning the name of any of them. It remained to prove who were the murderers, which was never attempted. How-

ever, Rapin, Hume, Dr. Henry, and many other historians, have considered such a vague declaration as a formal sentence of condemnation against the Dauphin, declaring him guilty of high treason, and incapable of succeeding to the throne. It seems that an assertion of that importance should not be advanced without supporting it by the most satisfactory proofs.

Henry immediately turned his arms with success against the adherents of the Dauphin, who as soon as he heard of the treaty of Troyes, took on him the stile and authority of regent, and appealed to God and his sword for the maintenance of his title.

*Ann. 1422.*

Henry goes over to England, obtains a subsidy from the English parliament, levies a new army of twenty-four thousand archers and four thousand horsemen, and marches them to Dover, the place of rendezvous. Every thing had remained in tranquillity at Paris, under his uncle the duke of Exeter, whom he had left governor of that capital; but there had happened in another part of the kingdom, a misfortune which hastened the king's embarkation. The regent of Scotland, though he declined an open rupture with England, had permitted a body of seven thousand Scots, under the command of the earl of Buchan his second son, to be transported into France for the service of the Dauphin, who employed them to oppose the progress of the duke of Clarence in Anjou. The two armies encountered at Beaugé; the English were defeated; the duke himself was slain, and the earls of Somerset, Dorset, and Huntingdon taken prisoners. The Dauphin, that he might both attach the Scots to his service, and reward the valour of John Stuart,

earl of Douglas, honoured him with the office of constable. But the arrival of Henry at the head of so considerable an army, was more than sufficient to repair this loss. He chased the Dauphin beyond the Loire, and laid siege to Meaux, which surrendered at discretion, after an obstinate defence of eight months. This success was followed by the surrender of many other places which held for the Dauphin in the neighbourhood of Paris, and to crown all the prosperities of Henry, his queen was delivered of a son. But when the glory and good fortune of Henry had nearly reached the summit, he was seized with a fistula, a malady which the surgeons at that time had not skill enough to cure. When he saw that his end was approaching, he sent for his brother the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and a few noblemen more, and delivered to them in great tranquillity his last will with regard to the government of his kingdom and family. Though he regretted that he must leave unfinished a work so happily begun, he declared himself confident that the final acquisition of France would be the effect of their prudence and valour. He left the regency of that kingdom to his elder brother the duke of Bedford, that of England to his younger the duke of Gloucester, and the care of his son's person to the earl of Warwick. He recommended to all of them a great attention to maintain the friendship of the duke of Burgundy, and advised them never to give liberty to the French princes taken at Agincourt till his son was of age, and he conjured them, if the success of their arms should not enable them to place young Henry on the throne of France, never at least to make peace with that kingdom, unless the enemy by the cession of Normandy and its annexation to the crown of England, made compensation for all the hazard and expence of his enterprise.

Henry died on the 31st of August 1422, in the thirty-fourth year of his age and the tenth of his reign. His only son and heir was nine years old at that time. Catherine of France, his widow, married soon after his death a Welch gentleman, sir Owen Tudor, and bore him two sons, of whom Edmund the eldest was created earl of Richmond; the second, earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor first raised to distinction by this alliance, became sixty-three years after one of the royal dynasties of England, when Richard III. being defeated and slain at the famous battle of Bosworth, Henry VII. the eldest son of Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond, ascended the throne.

Henry V. was endowed with many eminent and amiable virtues unstained by any considerable blemish. His gallantry and skill in the field were equalled by his prudence and abilities in the cabinet. Though in his transactions with the court of France, his ambition might appear somewhat inordinate and even ungenerous, it may be said in his favour, that it was more of the passive than of the active nature, as through the imbecility of king Charles, and the hurry of passion by which the violent factions then existing in France were actuated, the crown of that kingdom was rather offered to Henry, and even thrown upon his head, than demanded by him.

It is proved by authentic accounts that the ordinary revenue of the crown during this reign as under that of Henry III. amounted only to fifty-five thousand seven hundred and fourteen pounds ten shillings and ten-pence a year. The ordinary expence of the government amounted to forty-two thousand five hundred and seven pounds sixteen shillings and ten-pence; from which nineteen thousand one hundred and nineteen pounds were to be deducted for the annual expence of the city



of Calais; so that the king had a surplus only of thirteen thousand two hundred pounds fourteen shillings for the supply of his household, for his wardrobe, for the expence of embassies and other articles. He was, therefore, obliged to apply frequently to parliament for supplies, but they never were adequate to the expences during the wars, and the sovereign was reduced to many miserable shifts, in order to make any tolerable figure in them. He commonly borrowed money from all quarters; he pawned his jewels, and sometimes the crown itself; and he was often obliged, notwithstanding all these expedients, to stop in the midst of his victories, and to grant truces to the enemy. All the extraordinary supplies granted by parliament to Henry during the whole course of his reign, were only seventeenth and fifteenth, about two hundred and three thousand pounds. It is easy to compute how soon this money was exhausted by armies of twenty-four thousand archers and six thousand horse; when each archer had six-pence a day, and each horseman, two shillings.

**HENRY VI. Fifteenth King from the Conquest.**

[Only son of Henry V. born December 6, 1421; succeeded his father August 31, 1422; crowned at Westminster, November 6, 1429, and again at Paris, December 17, 1430; married to Margaret of Anjou, November 1444; deposed by Edward IV. son of the duke of York, March 5, 1461; restored to his throne 1470; taken again prisoner by Edward, April 11, 1471, died in the tower, and supposed to be murdered by the duke of Gloucester, May following; aged 50; buried at Windsor.]

*Ann. 1422, 1423.*

The parliament paying very little regard to the last dispositions of Henry V. assumed the power of regulating the whole administration. They declined altogether the name of regent with regard to England; they appointed the duke of Bedford protector or guardian of the kingdom, invested the duke of Gloucester with the same dignity during the absence of his brother, and appointed a council, without whose advice and approbation no measure of importance could be determined. The person and education of the infant prince were committed to Henry Beaufort, bishop of Canterbury, his great uncle.

In less than two months after Henry V.'s death, Charles VI. his father-in-law, had terminated his unhappy life, and Charles VII. notwithstanding the exclusion given him by the imbecility of his father, was the true and undoubted heir of the monarchy. All Frenchmen attached to the interests and independence of their country, turned their eyes to-

wards him as its only resource. Charles himself, though only in his twentieth year, was of a character well calculated to revive the sentiments of loyalty among his subjects. He was sincere, generous, and affable; he engaged from affection the services of his followers, even while his low fortune might make it their interest to desert him. The love of pleasure often seduced him into indolence, but amidst all his irregularities, the goodness of his heart still shone forth, and by exerting at intervals his courage and activity, he proved that his remissness proceeded not from the want either of a just spirit of ambition or of personal valour.

The duke of Bedford was sensible that the title alone of this prince made him formidable, and that every foreign assistance would be requisite, ere an English regent could hope to complete the conquest of France. He accordingly strengthened by all possible means his alliance and connexions with the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, as the provinces of France, already subdued, lay between the dominions of these two princes. In the mean time, the duke of Bedford, on a ransom of forty thousand pounds offered by the regent of Scotland for James's liberty, consented to restore him to the throne of his ancestors, on condition that he should observe the strictest neutrality; and he proved in his short reign, one of the most illustrious princes that had ever governed that kingdom. He was murdered in 1437, by his traitorous kinsman the earl of Athole. His affections inclined to the side of France; but, during his life time, the English had never reason to complain of any breach of the neutrality of Scotland.

The duke of Bedford makes himself master of several towns and fortresses in Picardy and Normandy. Battle of Crevant near Auxerre, where the Scots and French were defeated.

*Ann. 1424, 1425.*

The town of Ivry in Normandy, besieged during three months by the duke of Bedford in person, is obliged to capitulate, and the governor agrees to surrender the town if he receives no relief before a fixed time. Charles, informed of these conditions, sends his army under the command of the constable, to relieve the place. But finding that he was come too late, he sat down before Verneuil, a place of much greater importance, which was delivered up to him. On hearing, however, of the duke of Bedford's approach, he rashly determined to attack him. The battle was fierce and well disputed; the victory was complete and decisive in favour of the duke of Bedford. Charles, lost in this fatal action the flower of his army, his constable and the bravest of his nobles; his situation appeared almost desperate, when an unexpected accident saved him on the brink of ruin.

Jacqueline, countess of Hainault and Holland, had married John duke of Brabant, who had reached only his fifteenth year, and was cousin-german to the duke of Burgundy. She was a princess of a masculine spirit and uncommon understanding, in the vigour of her age, while the duke of Brabant was of a sickly complexion and weak mind; these causes inspired her with so much contempt and disgust for her husband, that she was determined to have her marriage dissolved; but as she foresaw great opposition from her husband's relations, she made her escape into England, and put herself under the protection of the duke of Gloucester, who was induced both by the charms of the countess, and by the prospect of possessing her rich inheritance, to offer himself to her as a husband. Without waiting for a papal dispensation, without endea-

vouring to reconcile the duke of Burgundy to the measure, he entered into a contract of marriage with the countess, and immediately attempted to put himself in possession of her dominions. The duke of Burgundy, offended at the injury done to his nephew the duke of Brabant, encouraged him to make resistance, and engaged many of Jacqueline's subjects to adhere to that prince; he himself marched troops to his support, and as the duke of Gloucester still persevered in his purpose, a sharp war was suddenly kindled in the Low Countries. The quarrel soon became personal between him and the duke of Burgundy, and mutual challenges and defiance passed between them on this occasion. The bad effects of so ill-timed and imprudent a quarrel were, that all the succours which the duke of Bedford expected from England were intercepted by his brother, and employed in Holland and Hainault; that the forces of the duke of Burgundy, which he also depended on, were diverted by the same wars; and besides this double loss, he was in imminent danger of alienating for ever that confederate whose friendship was of the utmost importance. The duke of Bedford vainly interposed his good offices between the two princes: he found that the impetuosity of his brother's temper was an obstacle to any accommodation; and the duke of Burgundy's animosity against Charles being counterbalanced by another passion of the same kind, which in the end became prevalent, he was brought back by degrees to his natural connections with his family and his native country.

About the same time the sword of constable, vacant by the death of the earl of Douglas, having been offered by Charles VII. to the earl of Richmond, he not only accepted that office, but brought over his brother the duke of Brittany to an alliance with the French monarch. Thus the two

powerful allies, whose friendship the late king had deemed of so much importance, that he had recommended with his dying breath to his brother to cultivate by every mark of regard, were now become the allies of Charles.

*Ann. 1426 to 1429.*

Earl of Warwick besieges Montargis with an army of three thousand men. The count of Dunois, bastard of the duke of Orleans, assassinated by the duke of Burgundy, undertakes to relieve the place, and with a body of one thousand six hundred men makes an attack on the trenches with so much valour and good fortune, that Warwick is obliged to raise the siege.

The duke of Bedford brings a considerable army to the frontiers of Brittany, and falls so unexpectedly upon that province, that the duke, unable to resist, submits to all the terms required of him, renounces the French alliance, engages to maintain the treaty of Troyes, acknowledges the duke of Bedford for regent of France, and promises to do homage for his duchy to king Henry. After having completely succeeded in such an important enterprise, the duke of Bedford intending to penetrate into the south of France, resolved to attack the city of Orleans, which being situated between the provinces submitted to Henry and those possessed by Charles, opened an easy entrance to either. He committed the conduct of the expedition to the earl of Salisbury, who approached the place with an army of ten thousand men only. He attacked the fortifications which guarded the entrance to the bridge, and carried several of them, but was himself killed by a cannon ball. The earl of Suffolk succeeded to the command, and passing the Loire with the main body of his army, he invested

Orleans, and erected redoubts at different distances to intercept the supplies which the enemy might attempt to throw into the place. But while Suffolk lay in this situation, the French parties ravaged all the country around, and the besiegers were themselves exposed to the danger of famine. Sir John Fastolffe was bringing on a large convoy, which he escorted with two thousand five hundred men, when he was attacked by a body of four thousand French, under the command of the duke of Bourbon, who had nearly taken the convoy, when the impatience of some Scottish troops who broke the line of battle, brought on an engagement, in which Fastolffe was victorious. This action, in which about five hundred French were left on the field of battle, was commonly called the battle of *Herrings*, because the convoy brought a great quantity of that fish for the use of the English army during the Lent time.

The siege had already lasted seven months, and the place was every day more and more closely invested. Charles, unable to collect an army which should dare to approach the enemy's entrenchments, already entertained thoughts of retiring with the remains of his forces into Languedoc and Dauphiné. But Mary of Anjou, his queen, a princess of great merit, vehemently opposed this measure, which she foresaw would serve as a general signal for deserting a prince who seemed himself to despair of success. His mistress too, the fair Agnes Sorel, who lived in entire amity with the queen, seconded all her remonstrances, and threatened Charles that if he thus pusillanimously threw away the sceptre of France, she would seek in the court of England a fortune more correspondent to her wishes. The energy and love of these two women, having rekindled in the breast of Charles that courage which ambition was unable to rouse, he resolved to die with

honour in the midst of his friends rather than yield ingloriously to his bad fortune, when relief was unexpectedly brought him by another female of a very different character, known in the history by the appellation of the *Maid of Orleans*, whose assistance produced one of the most extraordinary revolutions that ever existed.

The Maid of Orleans, a country girl of twenty-seven years of age, called Joan d'Arc, was servant in a small inn in the village of Domremi near Vaucouleur, on the borders of Lorraine. Her imagination being inflamed with an ardent desire of bringing relief to her sovereign in his present distress, she mistook the impulse of passion for heavenly inspirations, and fancied that she had visions, and heard voices, exhorting her to re-establish the throne of France. She first applied to the governor of Vaucouleur, who sent her with some attendants to the court of France, which was at that time at Chinon. It is pretended that immediately on her admission, she knew the king, though she had never seen him before, and though he purposely kept himself in the crowd of courtiers, and had laid aside every thing in his dress which might distinguish him; that she announced to him, in the name of God, that she came to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims, to be there crowned and anointed; and on his expressing doubts of her mission, revealed to him before some sworn confidants, a secret which was unknown to all the world beside himself; and that she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword which was kept in the church of St. Catherine of Fierbois, and which, though she had never seen it, she described by all its marks, and by the place in which it had long lain neglected. It is certain that all these miraculous stories were rapidly propagated, and as usual in such cases, considerably



exaggerated by more marvellous particulars which were all adopted by the ever credulous multitude, and above all by the soldiers, whose enthusiasm, roused to the highest pitch, made them consider Joan as an angel descended from heaven in human attire, and sent by God himself to lead them to victory; they accordingly thought that they were invincible. Charles took advantage of these dispositions, and his commanders acted in this circumstance with the utmost dexterity. Though Joan was prompted by them in all her measures, they always affected to be led by her, and though she was not invested with any command, every thing seemed to be done by her orders. She appeared as performing the office of a general, directing the troops, conducting the military operations, and swaying the deliberations in all the councils of war. This show of credit and authority was necessary to give her the greatest influence over the troops. Her uncommon intrepidity prevailed and communicated itself among the whole army, and insured the success of all her enterprises. The English army was weakened by the recall of all the troops of Burgundy, in consequence of a quarrel which had lately taken place between the duke and the regent, who saw his troops overawed and strongly impressed with the idea of a divine influence accompanying the maid. He therefore raised the siege of Orleans on the 8th of May 1429, and retired with all the precaution imaginable. This advantage was immediately followed by the siege of Gien, where Suffolk had retired with a party of his army. The siege lasted ten days: Joan, with her wonted intrepidity, descended into the fosse to lead the attack, and she there was beaten to the ground by a blow on the head with a stone, but she soon recovered herself and succeeded completely in the assault; Suffolk himself was taken prisoner. The

remainder of the English army, commanded by Fastolfe, Scales, and Talbot, was discomfited in an instant by the vanguard of the French army under the command of Richemont and Saintrailles, at the village of Patay ; two thousand men were killed in the action ; both Talbot and Scales were taken prisoners, and Fastolfe showed the example of flight to his troops ; the order of the garter was taken from him as a punishment for his cowardice.

Charles set out for Rheims at the head of twelve thousand men. All the towns in his way opened their gates to him. Rheims sent him a deputation with its keys, and he scarcely perceived as he passed along, that he was marching through an enemy's country. The ceremony of his coronation was here performed on the 17th of July 1429. Many towns and fortresses in that neighbourhood submitted to him on the first summons, and the whole nation was disposed to give him the most zealous testimonies of their duty and affection.

The prudence, vigilance, foresight, and resolution of the duke of Bedford in such a perilous situation, were truly admirable. He put all the English garrisons in a posture of defence ; he kept a watchful eye over every attempt among the French towards an insurrection ; he retained the Parisians in obedience, and acted with so much skill and prudence, as to renew, in this dangerous crisis, his alliance with the duke of Burgundy.

The wonderful abilities of the duke of Bedford were set in a still stronger light by the difficulties he experienced in getting the smallest supplies from England, where the ardour for foreign expeditions was very much abated since they had been extended from the conquest of provinces, to that of an extensive and powerful kingdom, which, by its annexation to England, could possibly sooner or later reduce her to the modest condition of a province.

It happened fortunately in this emergency that the bishop of Winchester landed at Calais, with a body of five thousand men sent into Bohemia on a crusade against the Hussites. He was persuaded to lend these troops to the regent, who was thereby enabled to oppose the French king advancing with his army to the gates of Paris.

*Ann.* 1430, 1431.

The regent endeavours to revive the declining state of his affairs by bringing over the young king of England, and having him crowned at Paris. But the ceremony was cold and insipid, compared with the transports of joy which had attended the coronation of Charles. The Maid of Orleans, whose wishes and promises had been thus completely fulfilled, had no further desire than to return to her former condition; but the count of Dunois persuaded her to persevere until the final expulsion of the English. She accordingly threw herself into Compiègne, which was at that time besieged by the duke of Burgundy, assisted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk. The next day after her arrival, she headed a sally, and twice drove the enemy from their entrenchments, and ordered a retreat; when hard pressed by the pursuers, she turned upon them and made them again recoil; but after exerting the utmost valour, she was at last surrounded by the Burgundians, and taken prisoner. A complete victory would not have given more joy to the English, and a *Te Deum* was solemnly celebrated at Paris on this fortunate event. This childish pusillanimity was only ridiculous; but the indictment of that wonderful heroine, her trial by an ecclesiastical court for sorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic, and her being condemned to be burned, are as many transactions to be ranked among the most

infamous and the most criminal which may be found in the records of history. This monstrous sentence issued by several prelates, among whom the cardinal of Winchester was the only Englishman, was executed in the market-place at Rouen. Thus the famous Maid of Orleans, to whom the more generous superstition of the ancients would have erected altars, was, on these false pretences, delivered over alive to the flames, and by that dreadful punishment, expiated the signal services she had rendered to her king and to her country.

*Ann. 1432, 1433, 1434.*

Joan of Arc's execution, instead of advancing the affairs of the English, threw them every day more and more into decay, through the disgust which such an act of stupid cruelty excited all over France, where it strengthened the inclination of the people to return under the obedience of their rightful sovereign, to whom all the towns and fortresses opened their gates as soon as he appeared; while his armies defeated everywhere the small bodies of English troops they met with.

*Ann. 1435 to 1439.*

Desertion of the duke of Burgundy, who, at last unites definitively to the royal family of France, by a treaty concluded at Arras. A few days after the duke of Bedford received intelligence of this treaty, he died at Rouen. Isabella, queen of France, died a little before him, despised by the English, detested by the French, and reduced in her latter years to witness with an unnatural horror the success of her own son in recovering possession of his kingdom. The duke of York, son to the earl of Cambridge, who was executed in the beginning of

the last reign, was appointed successor to the duke of Bedford in the regency of France; but as seven months elapsed before his commission passed the seals, he found on his arrival the capital already lost. The English were still masters of many fine provinces in France; but as the affections of the people were entirely against them, Charles always received early intelligence of the state and motions of the enemy; the inhabitants were ready to join in any attempts against the garrisons, and thus ground was continually though slowly gained upon the English.

*Ann. 1440 to 1446.*

Both parties, weary of undecisive hostilities, seemed at last desirous of peace, and they set on foot negotiations; but the proposals and demands of both parties were still so wide of each other, that all hope of accommodation immediately vanished, and the war with France continued in the same languid state as before.

A new order of nobles was instituted in 1440, under the title of Viscounts, and placed below the earls and above the barons. The baron Beaumont was the first promoted to that new dignity, and was created viscount Beaumont in full parliament at Reading, on the 12th February of that year.

The release of the duke of Orleans, who was the last of the five princes of the blood taken prisoners at the battle of Azincourt, that remained in the hands of the English, was considered at that time as a very advantageous measure; not only on account of the fifty-four thousand nobles he offered for his ransom, a sum nearly equal to two-thirds of all the extraordinary supplies granted by the parliament during seven years for the support of the war, but as giving a head in the court of France to those

numerous malcontents, whom Charles was at present able with great difficulty to restrain. Thus was the duke of Orleans restored to his liberty, after a captivity of twenty-five years; and the duke of Burgundy, as a pledge of his sincere reconciliation with the family of Orleans, facilitated to that prince the payment of his ransom, which was equal to thirty thousand pounds sterling. The cardinal of Winchester, who had been the promoter of that measure, prevailed in another point of still greater moment. That prelate had always encouraged every proposal of accommodation with France, and as it was found impossible to adjust the terms of a lasting peace, he supported by so many powerful motives the necessity of a suspension of hostilities, that the earl of Suffolk was dispatched to negotiate with the French minister, and a truce for twenty-two months was concluded, which left every thing on the present footing between the parties.

In proportion as Henry advanced in years, it became fully known, that he was fitted both by the weakness of his character and by his slender capacity, to be governed by those who approached him, and it was easy to foresee that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. As he was now in the twenty-third year of his age, his marriage was an object of contention between the duke of Gloucester, who proposed a daughter of the count of Armagnac, and the cardinal of Winchester's party, who had cast their eyes on Margaret of Anjou, the most accomplished princess of her age both in body and mind, and seeming to possess all those qualities which would equally enable her to acquire the ascendant over Henry, and to supply all his defects and weaknesses. The prevalent credit of the cardinal and his associates, induced the English council to determine that proposals of marriage should be made to Margaret; and the earl of Suffolk was en-

trusted with the negociation. The proposals were accepted, and the treaty of marriage was ratified in England. Suffolk obtained first the title of marquis, then that of duke, and even received the thanks of parliament for his services on that occasion. The princess soon after her arrival, entered into close connexions with the cardinal and his party, the dukes of Somerset, Suffolk, and Buckingham, who, depending on her powerful support, resolved on the final ruin of the duke of Gloucester.

*Ann. 1447, 1448.*

The duchess of Gloucester is accused of witchcraft, and charged with having in her possession a waxen figure of the king, which she and her associates, sir Roger Bolingbroke, a priest, and one Margery Jordan of Eye, melted in a magical manner before a slow fire, with an intention of making Henry's strength waste away by like insensible degrees, an accusation evidently absurd, but well calculated to make a deep impression on the weak and credulous mind of the king. The duchess was brought to trial with her pretended confederates, and they were all pronounced guilty. The duchess was condemned to do public penance, and to a perpetual imprisonment; the others were executed. These violent proceedings, far from deceiving the people, increased their affection for a worthy prince who was thus exposed, without any possible means of defence to the injuries and flagitiousness of such enemies. These sentiments of the public alarmed the cardinal and his party, and determined them to destroy a man whose popularity might become dangerous. A parliament was summoned for that purpose, not at London, which was supposed to be too partial to the duke, but at St. Edmonds-bury. As soon as

the duke appeared, he was accused of treason, and thrown into prison, where he was soon after found dead in his bed, though without marks on his body of any outward violence. No one doubted but he had fallen a victim to the vengeance of his enemies.

The cardinal of Winchester died six weeks after his nephew, whose murder was universally ascribed to him and to the duke of Suffolk, and for which in his last moments he appeared to feel the utmost remorse. What share the queen had in this guilt was not known, but the general opinion was that the duke's enemies would not have ventured on such a deed without her privity. In the mean time the court continued to be divided into factions, which were enraged against each other; the people were discontented with the government; conquests in France were overlooked amidst domestic incidents, which engrossed the general attention; the governor of Normandy ill supplied with money, was obliged to dismiss the greatest part of his troops, and to allow all the fortifications to become ruinous; and the inhabitants of that province, through the late open communication with France, had enjoyed frequent opportunities of renewing connexions with their ancient master, and of concerting the means for expelling the English. The occasion, therefore, seemed favourable to Charles for breaking the truce, during which he had employed himself with great activity and judgment in repairing the calamities to which France had so long been exposed, repressing faction in his court, restoring the course of public justice, introducing order into the finances, and establishing discipline in his army.



*Ann.* 1449, 1450.

Normandy is invaded at once by four powerful armies, one commanded by the king himself, a second by the duke of Brittany, a third by the duke of Alençon, and a fourth by the count of Dunois. All the places open their gates almost as soon as the French appear. The duke of Somerset retires into Rouen. Charles, at the head of fifty thousand men, presents himself before the gates; the inhabitants call aloud for capitulation; Somerset retires with his garrison into the palace and castle, which not being tenable, he is obliged to surrender, and to purchase a retreat to Harfleur by the payment of fifty-six thousand crowns, by engaging to surrender almost all the places in the higher Normandy, and by delivering hostages for the performance of these articles. A succour of four thousand men only is sent from England; but soon after their landing at Cherbourg, they are put to rout at Fourmigny. Somerset shut up in Caen, without any prospect of relief, is obliged to capitulate. In short, the conquest of that important province was completed by Charles in a twelve month, to the great joy of the inhabitants and of the whole kingdom.

Alike rapid success attended the French arms in Guienne. After all the small places about Bordeaux were reduced, the city agreed to submit if not relieved in a fixed time, and no relief appearing, the place surrendered, and Bayonne being taken soon after, this whole province, which had remained united to England since the accession of Henry II. was, after a period of three centuries, finally swallowed up in the French monarchy.

In this period of calamity, a new interest was revived, which seemed to have lain dormant in

the times of prosperity. Richard, duke of York, began to think of asserting his right to the crown. As he descended by his mother from Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence second son of Edward III. He stood plainly in the order of succession before the king, who descended from John of Ghaunt, the third son of the same Edward. The ensign of Richard was a white rose, that of Henry a red; this gave name to the two parties, whose contentions were now about to drench the kingdom with blood.

Richard was a man of valour and abilities, of a prudent conduct and mild dispositions, and his alliances, by his marrying the daughter of Ralph Nevil earl of Westmoreland, had procured him many powerful connexions among the nobility; for besides the earl of Westmoreland, and the lords Latimer, Fauconberg, and Abergavenny, this illustrious family reckoned among its members the two greatest noblemen in the kingdom on many accounts, namely, the earl of Salisbury and the earl of Warwick, commonly known from the subsequent events by the appellation of the *King Maker*. No less than thirty thousand persons are said to have daily lived at his board in the different manors and castles which he possessed in England. But the most fatal circumstance to the interests of the house of Lancaster, was the assassination of the duke of Gloucester, whose character, had he been alive, would have intimidated the partizans of York, but whose memory, being extremely cherished by the people, served to throw an odium on all his murderers, and above all on the duke of Suffolk, who was known to have had an active hand in the crime. The clamours which necessarily rose against him as prime minister and declared favourite of the queen, were thereby augmented to a tenfold pitch, and became absolutely uncontrollable. Suffolk foreseeing that

an attack from the commons would be the consequence of the public hatred under which he laboured, endeavoured to overawe his enemies by boldly presenting himself to the charge, and calling upon them to shew an instance of his guilt. The commons, rather provoked at his challenge, opened their charge against him, and sent up to the peers an accusation of high treason divided into several articles, none of which could bear a strict scrutiny. The commons being probably sensible of it, soon after sent up against him a new charge of misdemeanour, also divided into several articles, many of which could have been proved. The king, alarmed at the consequences, found no other means to save his minister, than to assume upon himself the decision of the trial. He accordingly summoned all the lords to his apartment; the prisoner was produced before them, and asked what he could say in his own defence. He denied the charge, but submitted to the king's mercy. Henry expressed himself not satisfied with regard to the impeachment for treason, but as to the second for misdemeanours, he declared that by virtue of Suffolk's own submission, not by any judicial authority, he banished him the kingdom during five years. The lords remained silent, but as soon as they returned to their own house, they entered a protest that this sentence should no wise infringe their privileges, and that if Suffolk had insisted upon his right, and had not voluntarily submitted to the king's commands, he was entitled to a trial by his peers in parliament. His enemies considering this transaction as an escape from justice, employed the captain of a vessel to intercept him in his passage to France; he was seized near Dover; his head was struck off on the side of a long boat, and his body thrown into the sea.

After the death of Suffolk, the discontents of the

people broke out in various commotions, which were soon suppressed, but there arose one in Kent which was attended with more dangerous consequences. John Cade, a man of low condition, native of Ireland, who had been obliged to fly into France for crimes, observing on his return to England the disposition of the people, laid on them the foundation of projects which were at first crowned with surprising success. He took the name of John Mortimer, intending to pass for a son of that John Mortimer who, in the beginning of this reign, had been sentenced to death and executed without any trial or evidence, merely upon an indictment of high treason. On the mere mention of that popular name, the common people of Kent, to the number of twenty thousand, flocked to Cade's standard. The court sent against the rioters, a small force, which was defeated, and Cade advancing with his followers towards London, encamped on Blackheath, and sent to the court a plausible list of grievances, promising that when they should be redressed, and when lord Say, the treasurer, and Cromer, sheriff of Kent, should be punished for their malversations, he would immediately lay down his arms. The citizens of London soon after opened their gates to him, and he maintained during some time great order and discipline among his followers, but being obliged, in order to gratify their malevolence against Say and Cromer, to put these men to death without a legal trial, he found that after having committed this crime, he was no longer master of their riotous disposition. They broke into a rich house, which they plundered. The citizens, alarmed at this act of violence, shut their gates against them, and a detachment of soldiers sent by the governor of the tower, repulsed them with great slaughter. The Kentishmen were so discouraged by this blow, that upon receiving a

general pardon from the primate, then chancellor, they dispersed. But the pardon was soon after annulled as extorted by violence; a price was set upon the head of Cade, who retreating to Rochester, was discovered and slain, and many of his followers were capitally punished for their rebellion.

*Ann. 1451 to 1454.*

In the beginning of November 1451, the duke of York returned from Ireland, where he had remained during all those disturbances; and the dispositions which appeared in a parliament assembled soon after his arrival, favoured openly the expectations of his partizans. The lower house presented a petition against the duke of Somerset, who had succeeded to Suffolk's power in the ministry and credit with the queen against the duchess of Suffolk, the bishop of Chester, sir John Sutton, lord Dudley, and several others of inferior rank, and they prayed the king to remove them for ever from his person and councils, and to prohibit them from approaching within twelve miles of the court. The king durst not oppose these demands; he answered, that except the lords, he would banish all the others from court during a year, unless he should have occasion to employ them in suppressing any rebellion.

The duke of York trusting to these symptoms, raised an army of ten thousand men, and marched towards London, demanding a reformation of the government, and the removal of the duke of Somerset from all power and authority. But he found unexpectedly the gates of the city shut against him; and on his retreating into Kent, he was followed by the king, at the head of a superior army. A parley ensued; the duke of York still insisted upon the removal of Somerset, and the court putting in

arrest that nobleman, seemed to comply with the demand of the duke, who was then persuaded to pay his respects to the king in his tent, and on his there repeating his charge against Somerset, he saw that minister step from behind the curtain, and offer to maintain his innocence. Richard now found that he had been betrayed. No violence, however, was attempted against him, thanks to the number and power of his friends in Henry's camp; he was, therefore, dismissed, and he retired to his seat on the borders of Wales.

An incident happened at that time, which, by increasing the public discontents, proved favourable to Richard's pretensions. Several nobles of Gascony affectionate to the English government, came to London, and offered to return to their allegiance under Henry. The earl of Shrewsbury, with a body of eight thousand men, was sent over to support them. Bordeaux opened its gates to him; and he made himself master of many other places in Guyenne; but Charles VII. hastening to resist this invasion, reconquered all these places. Shrewsbury, a venerable warrior, above fourscore years of age, fell in battle, and all hopes of recovering Gascony vanished for ever. The English expressed great discontent on the occasion, and threw all the blame on the ministry. Such were the dispositions of the people in the month of October 1453, when the queen was delivered of a son, who received the name of Edward. A few months after, Henry fell into a distemper, which so far increased his natural imbecility that it rendered him incapable of maintaining even the appearance of royalty. The queen and the council finding themselves deprived by this accident of all means of resisting the York party, sent Somerset to the tower, and appointed Richard lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a session of parliament. That assembly

created him protector of the kingdom during pleasure ; yet, the duke invested without any opposition with the sovereign authority of which he was so ambitious, appeared somewhat timid and irresolute in receiving it, and desired that it might be recorded in parliament that this authority was conferred on him from their own free impulse, without any application on his part ; he expressed his hopes that they would assist him in the exercise of it ; he made it a condition of his acceptance that the other lords who were appointed to be of his council, should also accept of the trust, and should exercise it, and he required that all the powers of his office should be specified and defined by act of parliament. This unusual moderation betrayed a want of energy, which was attended with fatal consequences, as by giving time to the animosities of faction, to raise and ferment, it proved the source of all the bloody wars and commotions which ensued.

*Ann. 1455 to 1458.*

Henry being so far recovered from his distemper as to carry the appearance of exercising the royal power, the enemies of the duke of York determined the king to resume his authority, to annul the protectorship, to release Somerset from the tower, and to put him at the head of administration. Richard, sensible of the dangers of his situation, levied an army, but still without advancing any pretensions to the crown. He complained only of the ministers, and demanded a reformation in the government. A battle was fought on the 22d of May, at St. Albans, in which the Yorkists, without suffering any material loss, slew about five thousand men, among whom were the duke of Somerset, and many other persons of distinction. The king himself fell into the hands of the duke of

York, who treated him with great respect and tenderness, assuming, however, into his hands the whole authority of the crown.

This was the first blood spilt in that fatal quarrel, which lasted no less than thirty years, which was signalized by twelve pitched battles, and is computed to have cost the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England.

A parliament, which was soon after assembled, granted the Yorkists a general indemnity, and restored the protectorship to the duke, who, on accepting it, still persevered in all his former precautions; but, at the same time, they renewed their oaths of fealty to Henry, and fixed the end of the protectorship to the majority of his son Edward, who was vested with the usual dignities of prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. This parliament issued an act, by which they repealed all the grants which had been made since the death of Henry V. and which had reduced the crown to great poverty.

The vigour and spirit of queen Margaret supporting her small power, soon proved sufficient to wrest authority from hands so little tenacious as those of the duke of York. Availing herself of that prince's absence, she produced her husband before the house of lords, and as his state of health permitted him at that time to act his part with some tolerable decency, he declared his intentions of resuming the government, and of putting an end to Richard's authority. This measure being unexpected, was not opposed by the contrary party; the king was declared accordingly to be reinstated in sovereign authority. Even the duke of York acquiesced in this declaration, and hastened to his castle on receiving intelligence that designs were formed against his liberty and life. The same mo-



five compelled the earl of Salisbury to withdraw into Yorkshire, and Warwick to his government of Calais, which was of the utmost importance in the present juncture, as it gave him the command of the only regular military force maintained by England. The archbishop of Canterbury, anxious to prevent the effusion of blood with which the kingdom was threatened, interposed with his good offices, and succeeded in bringing the parties to agree that the principal leaders on both sides should meet in London, and be solemnly reconciled. Terms were adjusted, which removed not the ground of difference. However, a solemn procession to St. Paul's took place, where the duke of York led the queen Margaret, and a leader of one party marched hand in hand with a leader of the opposite,

*Ann. 1459, 1460.*

This apparent harmony was of short duration. One of the king's retinue having insulted one of the earl of Warwick's, their companions on both sides took part in the quarrel, and a fierce combat ensued; the earl apprehending his life to be aimed at, fled to Calais, and both parties, all over England, openly made preparations for deciding the contest by war. The general rendezvous of the Yorkists was fixed at Ludlow. The earl of Salisbury marching to that place, was overtaken at Bloreheath, on the borders of Staffordshire, by lord Audley, who, though commanding much superior forces, was completely defeated. The earl of Warwick, who had brought over a choice body of veterans, on whom it was thought the fortune of the war would much depend, was betrayed by their commander, who deserted to the king during the night. The Yorkists were so dismayed at this instance of trea-

chery, that they separated next day at the approach of the royal army. The duke of York fled to Ireland, and Warwick to Calais, where his great popularity among all orders of men soon rendered his power very formidable.

In the next year, Warwick, after meeting with some success at sea, landed in Kent with the earl of Salisbury and the earl of Marche, eldest son of the duke of York, and being there joined by many other barons, he marched up to London amidst the acclamations of the people. The city immediately opened its gates to him; and his troops increasing on every day's march, he soon found himself in a condition to face the royal army, which hastened from Coventry to attack him. The battle was fought at Northampton, and was soon decided against the royalists, by the infidelity of lord Gray of Ruthin, who, commanding Henry's van, deserted to the enemy during the heat of action. The slaughter fell chiefly on the gentry and nobility; the common people were spared by orders of the earls of Warwick and Marche. Henry himself was again taken prisoner, and as the people preserved a tender regard for him, on account of the innocence and simplicity of his manners, the earl of Warwick and the other leaders took care to distinguish themselves by their respectful demeanour towards him, affecting to be inimical only to the queen and to the ministers.

A parliament was summoned in the king's name on the 7th of October. The duke of York, who had never hitherto openly declared any pretensions to the crown, began now to state his claims to it, but with such a moderation and such a regard to law and liberty, that though the parliament was surrounded by his victorious army, he pleaded his cause before them as his natural and legal judges. This was the first time that a spirit of true rational

liberty, ever appeared to exert itself in the English senate, and in which recent conquest did not supersede all deliberation. The peers took the matter into consideration, with as much tranquillity as if it had been a common subject of debate; they desired the assistance of some considerable members among the commons to deliberate with them; they heard in several successive days the reasons alledged for the duke of York; they proposed objections to his claim, and after receiving answers to them, they proceeded to give a decision; they declared the title of the duke of York to be certain and indefeasible; but in consideration that Henry had enjoyed the crown without dispute or controversy during the course of thirty-eight years, they determined that he should continue to possess the title and dignity during the remainder of his life; that the administration of the government should remain with Richard, who should be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy. The duke and the king himself acquiesced in this decision, and the act thus passed with the unanimous consent of the whole legislative body.

In the mean time, queen Margaret, always active in defending the rights of her family, had collected an army of twenty thousand men, with a celerity which was neither expected by her friends nor apprehended by her enemies. The duke of York, informed of her appearance in the north, hastened thither with a body of five thousand men; but on his arrival at Wakefield, he found himself so much out-numbered by the enemy, that he retreated into Sandal Castle, where the earl of Salisbury and many other prudent counsellors advised him to remain, till the earl of Lamarche his son, who was levying new forces in Wales, could come to his assistance. But the duke thought that he should be for ever disgraced, if by taking shelter behind walls,

he should for a moment resign the victory to a woman. He descended into the plain, and offered battle to the enemy, which was instantly accepted. The great inequality of numbers was sufficient alone to decide the victory. The duke attacked at once in front and on the rear of his army, was killed in the action. His body being found among the slain, the head was cut off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on the gates of York; with a paper-crown upon it in derision of his pretended title. The earl of Rutland his son, a youth of seventeen, was brought to lord Clifford, who murdered in cold blood and with his own hands this innocent prince, represented by historians as extremely amiable. The earl of Salisbury was taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded by martial law, with several other persons of distinction. The duke of York perished in the fiftieth year of his age; and left three sons, Edward, George, and Richard, with three daughters.

*Ann. 1461.*

After this important victory, the queen sent a small division of her army under Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, half brother to the king, against Edward the present duke of York, and marched with the rest towards London, where the earl of Warwick had been left with the command of the Yorkists. Pembroke was defeated by Edward at Mortimer Cross, with the loss of near four thousand men. He escaped by flight; but his father, sir Owen Tudor, was taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded by Edward's orders. But Margaret obtained a complete victory over the earl of Warwick at St. Albans, by the treacherous conduct of Lovelace, who commanded a considerable body of the

Yorkists, and withdrew from the combat when the armies were the most warmly engaged. Edward, collecting the remains of Warwick's troops, was soon in a condition of giving her battle with superior forces, and hastened towards London to meet her; but Margaret, sensible of her danger found it necessary to retreat with her army to the north.

Edward entered the capital amidst the acclamations of the citizens, and found himself so much possessed of public favour, that he resolved no longer to confine himself within the narrow limits which had proved so prejudicial to his father's cause. He determined to assume the crown, and thenceforth to treat the opposite party as traitors and rebels to his lawful authority. As notwithstanding his plausible title, a national consent still seemed requisite to precede this bold measure, and as the assembling of a parliament might be attended with delays and other inconveniencies, he proceeded in a less regular manner, which he thought sufficient to put it out of the power of his enemies to throw obstacles to his elevation. He assembled his army in St. John's fields; great numbers of people surrounded them; an harangue was pronounced to this mixed multitude. Setting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing against the usurpation of the Lancastrian family; the people were then asked, whether they would have Henry of Lancaster for king? They unanimously exclaimed against the proposal. It was then demanded whether they would accept of Edward, eldest son of the late duke of York? They expressed unanimously their assent by joyful acclamations. A great number of bishops, lords, magistrates, and other persons of distinction were next assembled at Baynard's Castle, where the popular

election was ratified, and the new king was on the subsequent day proclaimed in London, by the title of Edward IV.

Thus ended the reign of Henry VI. whose weakness, apathy, and incapacity were the characteristics to such a degree, that he is no more to be praised for the good than blamed for the evil which occurred under his reign.

The most remarkable law which passed at that period, was that for the due election of members of parliament in counties, by limiting the electors to such as possessed forty shillings a year in land free from all burthens within the county. This sum was equivalent to near twenty pounds a year of the present money. The preamble of the statute is remarkable, as it proves what an important matter the election of a member of parliament was now become in England; that assembly began indeed at that time to assume great authority; and the commons to be enabled to enforce the execution of the laws.

Permission was given by parliament to export corn when it was at low prices, wheat at six shillings and eight-pence a quarter, money of that age, and barley at three shillings and four-pence.

The first instance of debt contracted upon parliamentary security occurs likewise in this reign.

**EDWARD IV. Sixteenth King from the Conquest.**

[A descendant of the duke of Clarence, Edward III.'s second son ; born Sept. 1442 ; elected king when Henry VI. was deposed, March 5, 1461 ; crowned June 29 following ; privately married to lady Elizabeth Gray, widow of sir John Gray, 1464 ; dethroned and expelled the kingdom, 1470 ; restored April 11, 1471 ; died April 9, 1483, at Westminster ; aged 41.]

*Ann. 1461 to 1467.*

Queen Margaret, whose energy never failed to rise in proportion to her misfortunes, retired to the north, and was able in a few days to assemble an army of sixty thousand men in Yorkshire. The young Edward, now in his twentieth year, and the earl of Warwick hastened with an army of forty thousand men. Both armies met at Towton, in the county of York, and a fierce battle ensued. While the Yorkists were advancing to the charge, a great fall of snow driving full in the face of the enemy, blinded them, and this advantage was improved by a stratagem of lord Falconberg's, who ordered some infantry to advance before the line, and after having sent a volley of flight arrows, as they were called, amidst the enemy, immediately to retire. The Lancastrians, prevented by the thickness of the snow from perceiving the real position of the opposite army, and imagining that they were got within its reach, discharged all their arrows, which thus fell short of the Yorkists. After the quivers of the enemy were emptied, Edward, rushing upon them with impetuosity, soon obtained a complete victory. The routed army was pursued with great confusion, and as Edward had issued orders to give no

quarter, above thirty-six thousand men are computed to have fallen in the battle and pursuit. Edward entered York victorious, and taking down the heads of his father and the earl of Salisbury, that were placed over the city gates, put up that of the earl of Devonshire in their stead.

Margaret hearing the fate of her army, fled with Henry and her son to Scotland, while Edward returned to London, where a parliament was summoned for settling the government. They, without hesitating any longer between the two families, recognized the title of Edward by hereditary descent through the family of Mortimer, and declared that he was king by right from the death of his father, who had also the same lawful title, and that he was in possession of the crown from the day that he assumed the government tendered to him by the acclamations of the people. They expressed their abhorrence of the usurpation and intrusion of the house of Lancaster, particularly that of the earl of Derby, who had assumed the name of Henry IV. They annulled every grant which had passed in those reigns, and reinstated the king in all the possessions which had belonged to the crown at the pretended deposition of Richard II. They passed an act of forfeiture and attainder against Henry VI. and queen Margaret and their infant son prince Edward. The same act was extended to many persons of distinction, though their only crime was their adhering to a prince whom every member of the parliament had long recognized; some other noblemen who were detected in a correspondence with Margaret, were tried by martial law before the constable, condemned, and executed. This arbitrary form first introduced by William the Conqueror, and now accounted for by the violence of the times, was in direct contradiction with



Magna Charta, and no regular liberty could subsist with it.

In the mean time Lewis XI. who had succeeded to his father Charles, was led from motives of policy to feed the flames of civil discord among his most dangerous neighbours, by supporting the weaker party, and had sent accordingly to Henry's assistance a small body of troops, which landed in Northumberland, and took possession of the castle of Alnwick; but the solicitations of the indefatigable Margaret to obtain larger supplies, and her promises to deliver up Calais, if her family should be restored by this means to the throne of England, induced Lewis to send along with her a body of two thousand men at arms, which composed an army of nearly twelve thousand men, and enabled her to make an inroad into England, where she was soon reinforced by a numerous train of adventurers from Scotland, and by many partizans of the family of Lancaster; but her ill fortune still attended her. Lord Montague, brother to the earl of Warwick, met her at Hexham, and obtained a complete victory over her army.

After this defeat, Margaret flying with her son into a forest, where she endeavoured to conceal herself, was set upon during the darkness of the night by robbers, who despoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. The partition of this rich booty having raised a violent quarrel among them, she took the opportunity of flying with her son into the thickest part of the forest, where she wandered till she was overcome with hunger and fatigue. While in this wretched condition, she saw a robber approach with his naked sword, and finding that she had no means of escape, she suddenly embraced the resolution of trusting entirely for protection to his faith and

generosity, and presenting to him the young prince; "Here, my friend," said she, "I commit to your care the safety of your king's son." The man, struck with the singularity of the event, and recalled to virtue by the flattering confidence reposed in him, vowed not only to abstain from all injury against the princess, but to devote himself entirely to her service. By his means she reached the sea coast, and embarked for Flanders, whence she passed into her father's court, where she lived several years in retirement. Her husband was not so fortunate: some of his friends conveyed him into Lancashire, where he remained concealed during a twelvemonth; but he was at last detected, delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the tower, where he owed his safety to the contempt which his enemies had entertained of his courage and his understanding.

Edward thus freed from all apprehensions about the solidity of his title and the security of his government, delivered himself up without controul to his favourite passions. Though inured to the ferocity of civil wars, he was at the same time extremely devoted to the fair; and the beauty of his person, as well as the gallantry of his address, even unassisted by his royal dignity, would have been sufficient to facilitate the success of his applications for their favour.

From the unanimity of almost all the historians, we are induced to believe that at this juncture, Warwick, knowing how difficult it was to confine the ruling passion of Edward within the strict rules of prudence, wanted to turn him from these pursuits; he accordingly represented to him the necessity of securing his throne both by the prospect of issue and by foreign alliances, and he induced him to make application to Bona of Savoy, sister to the queen of France, who would by her marriage insure him the friendship of that

power, which was alone both able and inclined to give assistance to his rival. To give more weight to this negociation by the eminent rank and credit of the personage entrusted with it, it is asserted that Warwick himself was dispatched to Paris, where the princess then resided, and demanded Bona in marriage for the king. But whilst the earl was hastening the negociation in France, Edward himself rendered it abortive at home, by marrying secretly Elizabeth Woodville, with whom he had fallen in love, and whom he had vainly endeavoured to debauch. The proposals made by Warwick had been accepted by the court of France, and nothing remained but the ratification of the treaty agreed on, and the bringing over the princess to England, when the secret of Edward's marriage broke out. The haughty earl deeming himself affronted both by being employed in this fruitless negociation, and by being kept a stranger to the king's intentions, immediately returned to England inflamed with rage, which Edward did not condescend to sooth by any apology: his shame or pride prevented him from so much as mentioning the matter to Warwick, whose discontent was still more exasperated, when he saw the queen drawing every grace and favour to her own friends and kindred, and excluding those of the earl, whom she regarded as her mortal enemy.

Warwick pursued his revenge with as much prudence as activity. As Edward had obtained from parliament a general resumption of all the grants he had made since his accession, this act gave a general alarm to the nobility and disgusted many even zealous partizans of the family of York. But the most considerable that Warwick acquired to his party was the duke of Clarence, the king's second brother. Warwick offered him in marriage his eldest daughter and coheir of his immense for-

tune; a settlement, which, as it was superior to any that the king himself could confer upon him, immediately attached him to the party of the earl.

*Ann.* 1468, 1469, 1470.

While this cloud was gathering at home, Edward, sensible of the advantage of entering into foreign alliances to secure himself against his enemies, was determined to it. Charles, the present duke of Burgundy, whose martial disposition had acquired him the surname of *Bold*, sent over his natural brother, commonly called the Bastard of Burgundy, to carry in his name proposals of marriage to Margaret, the king's sister. Edward, pleased with strengthening himself by so potent an ally, bestowed his sister upon Charles, and in the mean time concluded a league with the duke of Brittany.

These schemes were soon frustrated by intestine commotions which engrossed all Edward's attention. The hospital of St. Leonard's, near York, had received from an ancient grant of king Athelstan, a right of levying a thrave of corn upon every plough-land in the country, and the people complained that this revenue, instead of being expended for the relief of the poor, was secreted by the managers, and employed to their private purposes. After long repining at the contribution, they refused payment, and ecclesiastical and civil censures being issued against them, they rose in arms, fell upon the managers, whom they put to the sword, and proceeded in a body fifteen thousand strong to the gates of York. Lord Montague, who commanded in those parts, opposed himself to their progress, and seized their leader, whom he ordered immediately to be led to execution according to the practice of the times. The rebels, however, still

continued in arms, and being headed by men of greater distinction, they advanced southward. The earl of Pembroke being ordered by Edward to march against them, the two armies approached each other near Banbury, and Pembroke having taken in a skirmish one of their new chiefs, ordered him immediately to be put to death. The rebels less terrified than enraged at this execution, attacked with fury and routed the Welch army, put them to the sword without mercy, and having seized Pembroke, they took immediate revenge upon him for the death of their leader. Meanwhile the northern rebels sending a party to Grafton, seized the earl of Rivers and his son John, the father and brother-in-law of the king, and they were immediately executed.

David Hume very judiciously observes, that there is no part of English history since the Conquest, so obscure, so uncertain, so little authentic or consistent as that period of the wars between the two Roses: historians differ about many material circumstances; some events of the utmost consequence in which they almost all agree, are incredible and contradicted by records. There is no possibility for instance of accounting for the views and intentions of the earl of Warwick at this time. It is agreed that he resided together with his son-in-law the duke of Clarence, in his government of Calais, during the commencement of this rebellion, and that his brother Montague acted with vigour against the northern rebels. Thence it is to be presumed, that the insurrection did not proceed from his instigation, though the murder committed by the rebels on the earl of Rivers, his capital enemy, forms on the other hand a violent presumption against him; but it vanishes when we see Warwick and Clarence coming over to England, offering their services to Edward, who receives them without the least suspi-

cion, and entrusts them with the highest commands in which they persevere in their fidelity. Soon after the rebels are quieted and dispersed by a general pardon granted by Edward from the advice of Warwick; but why should that nobleman, if unfaithful, have endeavoured to appease a rebellion of which he was able to make such advantages? After this insurrection there was an interval of peace, during which the king loaded the family of Warwick with honours of the highest nature. He made lord Montague a marquis by the same name, he created his son George duke of Bedford; he publicly declared his intention of marrying that young nobleman to his elder daughter the princess Elizabeth, who, as he had no sons, was presumptive heir of the crown; yet we find that soon after being invited to a feast by the archbishop of York, a younger brother of Warwick and Montague, he abruptly left the entertainment, which the historians account for by saying, that he entertained a sudden suspicion that these noblemen intended to seize his person, or to murder him. But how could these pretended suspicions agree with the positive fact, that during these transactions, and to quell a new insurrection which arose in Lincolnshire, and was headed by sir Robert Welles, son to the lord of that name, Edward had entertained so little jealousy of the earl of Warwick or duke of Clarence, that he sent them with commissions of array to levy forces against the rebels, who were thirty thousand strong? It is true that at that period, instead of levying troops for the king, they raised them in their own name, issued declarations against the government, and complained of grievances, oppressions, and bad ministers. The unexpected defeat of Welles disconcerted all their measures; they retired into Lancashire, where they were obliged to disband their army and to fly to Calais.

Such was indeed the first act of open rebellion of the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick against Edward. The first historians of that reign, finding themselves at a loss to account for so capital an offence by authentic proofs, have had recourse to suppositions or conjectures, without being aware of adopting none that could not be reconciled with the most certain and undeniable facts relating to that period, and their negligence in that respect is the only cause of the obscurity and contradictions of that part of the history of England. For instance, they have supposed or conjectured that Warwick had been sent to France to demand Bona de Savoy in marriage for Edward, that his proposals had been accepted and the treaty fully concluded, when Warwick being informed of the secret marriage of Edward, returned to England inflamed with rage and indignation. Such was the account given first by Polydore Virgil (p. 513), and by Holingshed (p. 667), and since copied by the other historians; but there is not the least trace in any public records of that pretended embassy, and Rymer, who collected and commented on them with so much exactitude, did not even mention it. Besides, if that supposed negotiation had taken place and had been carried so far, its issue would have been an offence of such gravity against Lewis XL the most resentful of all princes, that he would never have passed it over in silence. However, not a word about his resentment is to be found in any English or French historian. Thence it must be concluded, that if Edward, as it is very likely, ever had any idea of demanding Bona de Savoy in marriage, no negotiation about it had been opened with France before his marriage with Elizabeth Woodville, and that Warwick, instead of going as an ambassador to Paris, went only to his government of Calais, where he generally resided a part of the

year. This point being thus settled, it will remain only to take into consideration the well known character of Warwick, and the only facts proved by public records, to clear up all the contradictions and obscurity which occur at every page of the history of that part of Edward's reign.

As to the character of Warwick, it is unanimously attested by all the historians of those times, that this nobleman, to whom Edward was certainly indebted for his accession to the throne, was of such a temper as not to suffer with patience the least diminution of that credit which he had long enjoyed, and which he considered as the due reward of his important services; and though he had received so many grants from the crown, that the revenue arising from them amounted, besides his immense patrimonial estate, to eighty thousand crowns a year, his ambitious spirit was still dissatisfied, so long as he saw others surpass him in authority and influence with the king. Thence it must be naturally concluded, that he could not see without the highest discontent, that the queen carried so far her ascendancy over Edward, as to draw every grace and favour to her own friends and kindred, and to exclude those of Warwick, who was too deep and prudent a politician, not carefully to conceal his resentment until some favourable opportunity would enable him to make Edward repent of his ingratitude. In the mean time, as in those ages of civil convulsions and disorders, a rebellion could possibly under such a powerful leader be carried so far as to overturn the throne, Warwick wanted to acquire to his party a prince, who, in such an emergency, could succeed Edward, and over whom he could secure to himself a powerful and permanent ascendancy. This sufficiently accounts for his giving his daughter in marriage to the second brother of the king, the duke of Clarence, who,



being himself greatly injured by the uncontroled influence of the queen, was very much disposed to give countenance to all the makcontents. Now it is proved by the public records, that soon after this marriage the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick went over to Calais, where they remained till after the beginning of the insurrection which broke out in Yorkshire. When they came back to England, they found themselves in the alternative of joining the king or of supporting the insurrection, and their subsequent conduct evinces that they would have preferred the latter, had they found the insurrection as powerful as necessary to answer their purposes; but such not being the case, they offered their services to the king, were received without any suspicion, and still persevered in their fidelity. Soon after, the insurrection was quieted and dispersed by a general pardon granted by Edward from the advice of Warwick, which could not fail to make him popular among the rebels, whether he had intended it or not; an observation which has been omitted by all the historians. Another fact equally proved by public records is, that in the interval of peace which followed the insurrection, Edward acknowledged the services of Warwick, by loading his family with honours and favours of the highest nature; and that he was invited to a feast by the archbishop of York, a younger brother to Warwick and Montague. Almost all the historians assert that Edward was about this time taken prisoner by Clarence and Warwick, and was committed to the custody of the archbishop of York, but that being allowed to take the diversion of hunting, he made his escape, and afterwards chased the rebels out of the kingdom. "But that all the story is false," says Hume, (vol. iii. p. 472,) "appears from Rymer, where we find that the king throughout all this period continually exercised his

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authority, and never was interrupted in his government." As it appears also that during the feast at the archbishop of York, the king went off abruptly, Hume pretends that he entertained a sudden suspicion that they intended to seize his person, or to murder him, (vol. iii. p. 246); but this story is not less erroneous than the former, and Hume himself says in the following page, that "Edward, during these transactions, had entertained so little jealousy of the earl of Warwick or duke of Clarence, that on the 7th of March 1470, he sent them with commissions of array to levy forces against the rebels." Besides in the king's manifesto against them, where he enumerates all their treasons, he mentions no such fact; he does not so much as accuse them of exciting Welles's rebellion; he only says that they exhorted him to continue in his rebellion. This authentic document throws a great light upon the whole of these transactions, as it appears by it, that Clarence and Warwick's rebellion took place only when they found that their party, reinforced by all the malcontents, and above all by Welles's insurrection, thirty thousand men strong, and by the remainder of Yorkshire's insurrection, who were indebted to Warwick for the general pardon granted to them, would enable them to attack the king's army with superior forces. The unexpected defeat of Welles prevented the execution of this scheme, of which the king being timely informed, issued, on the 23d of March 1470, an order for apprehending Clarence and Warwick, and a proclamation, by which a reward of one thousand pounds or one hundred a year in land was offered to any that would seize them, which obliged them to fly to Calais.

Lewis XI. uneasy at the alliance of the duke of Burgundy with Edward, received with the greatest regard the exiled Warwick, whom he hoped to

make his instrument in overturning the government of England, and re-establishing the house of Lancaster, though there never was a greater animosity than that which existed between that house and the earl of Warwick. But his present distresses and the entreaties of Lewis, made him hearken to terms of accommodation; and Margaret being sent for from Angers, where she then resided, it was soon stipulated between them, that Warwick should espouse the cause of Henry, and endeavour to restore him to liberty, and to re-establish him on the throne; that the administration of the government during the minority of young Edward, Henry's son, should be entrusted conjointly to the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence; that prince Edward should marry the second daughter of Warwick; and that the crown, in case of the failure of male issue in that prince, should descend to the duke of Clarence, to the entire exclusion of king Edward and his posterity. The marriage of prince Edward with the second daughter of Warwick, was immediately celebrated in France.

Lewis XI. prepared a fleet to escort the earl of Warwick, and granted him a supply of men and money. The duke of Burgundy on the other hand, fitted out a larger fleet, with which he guarded the channel, and warned incessantly his brother-in-law of the imminent perils to which he was exposed; but a storm dispersed this fleet, and left the sea open to Warwick, who, seizing the opportunity, landed at Dartmouth with the duke of Clarence and a small body of troops, while Edward was engaged in suppressing a new insurrection in the north. The prodigious popularity of Warwick, and the instability of the English nation occasioned by the late frequent revolutions, drew such multitudes to his standard, that in a very few days his army amounted to sixty thousand men, and was

continually increasing. Edward hastened to encounter him; but a false alarm treacherously spread in his quarters by the marquis of Montague, compelled him to make his escape by flight. He had just time to get on horseback, and to hurry with a small retinue to Lynne in Norfolk, where he luckily found some ships ready, on board of which he instantly embarked, and left Warwick entirely master of the kingdom eleven days after his first landing.

Immediately after Edward's flight, Warwick marched to London, and taking Henry from his confinement in the tower, into which he himself had been the chief cause of throwing him, he proclaimed him king with great solemnity. A parliament was summoned in the name of that prince, and there the treaty between Margaret and the earl of Warwick was fully confirmed. Every statute made during the reign of Edward was repealed; that prince was declared to be an usurper, he and his adherents were attainted, and in particular Richard duke of Gloucester, his younger brother. Queen Margaret, who had not yet appeared in England, on receiving intelligence of Warwick's success, was preparing with prince Edward for her journey, but was detained by contrary winds, till a new revolution no less sudden and surprising than the former, threw her into greater misery than that from which she had first emerged.

*Ann. 1471, 1472, 1473.*

Edward having received a supply of money from the duke of Burgundy, with four large vessels and a small squadron, set sail for England, and disembarked at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. His partizans every moment flocked to his standard, and enabled him to present himself before the gates of London,

where he was admitted, and made himself master of the person of the wretched Henry, who was once more plucked from his throne, and sent back to his former mansion.

Warwick took post with his army at Barnet, in the neighbourhood of London, where he waited for Edward, when, in the night time, the duke of Clarence deserted to the king, and carried over a body of twelve thousand men along with him. Warwick was now too far advanced to retreat, and as he rejected with disdain all terms of peace offered him by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged to hazard a general battle, which was fought with the greatest obstinacy on both sides. He was slain in the thickest of the engagement, and his brother Montague underwent the same fate. Queen Margaret and her son, now about eighteen years of age, landed on the same day at Weymouth, supported by a small body of French troops. When she heard of the defeat and death of Warwick, and of her husband's captivity, her courage, which had supported her under so many calamities, quite abandoned her. At first she took sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu; but being encouraged by the appearance of Tudor, earl of Pembroke, with many other men of rank, who exhorted her still to hope for success, she resumed her former spirit, and determined to defend to the utmost the ruins of her fallen fortunes. She advanced through the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester, increasing her army on each day's march; but she was overtaken by Edward at Tewkesbury, on the banks of the Severn, where the Lancastrians were totally defeated, (4th May 1471.)

Queen Margaret and her son being taken prisoners, were brought to the king, who asked the prince how he dared to invade his dominions? The young prince, more mindful of his high birth than

of his present fortune, replied, that he came thither to claim his just inheritance. The ungenerous Edward, enraged at his intrepidity, struck him on the face with his gauntlet, after which blow, "*he was by the king's servants incontinently slain,*" says John Fabian, who died in 1512, and consequently lived on the spot at that period.

The chronicle of Croyland of the same date, says that the prince was slain, but names nobody. Hall, who wrote one hundred and fifty years after the event, says, that "*they that stood about, which were George duke of Clarence, Richard duke of Gloucester, marquis Dorset, and lord Hastings, suddenly murdered the prince.*" Holingshed and the greater part of the modern historians have repeated these very words, consequently they are transcribers and no new authority, as it is judiciously observed by Mr. Horace Walpole, in his *Historical Doubts on the Life and Reign of Richard III.*

Margaret was thrown into the tower, where king Henry suddenly expired a few days after the battle of Tewkesbury, but whether he died a natural or violent death is uncertain. "*Divers tales were told about it,*" says Fabian; "*but the most common fame went, that he was killed with a dagger by the hands of the duke of Gloucester.*" This opinion has been adopted by many historians, who have been deceived by the blind and indiscriminate zeal with which every crime committed in that bloody age, was placed to Richard's account. Other atrocious crimes and cruelties he certainly committed or commanded; "*but mob-stories or Lancastrian forgeries ought to be rejected from sober history, nor can they be repeated without exposing the writer to the imputations of weakness or vulgar credulity.*" (Horace Walpole, *ibid.* p. 10.)

Peace being now re-established, a parliament was summoned, which ratified as usual all the acts of

the victor, and recognized his legal authority. Edward thus became entirely master of his kingdom, and having no longer any enemy who could give him anxiety or alarm, wholly devoted himself as before to pleasure and amusement. Among his mistresses was Jane Shore, the wife of a merchant in the city, a woman of exquisite beauty and good sense, but who had not virtue enough to resist a handsome monarch. The severe penance inflicted upon her for adultery under the following reign, has given her a celebrity far superior to that of any of her numberless rivals.

*Ann. 1474 to 1477.*

A league is formed between the king and the duke of Burgundy, in which Edward stipulates to invade the French territories, with an army exceeding ten thousand men, and challenge the crown of France, to obtain at least the provinces of Guyenne and Normandy. Charles promises to join him with all his forces to acquire Champaign, and free all his dominions from the burthen of homage to the crown of France. On that occasion the parliament voted to the king a tenth of rents, or two shillings in the pound, which must have been inaccurately levied, since it produced only thirty-one thousand four hundred and sixty pounds. They added to this supply a whole fifteenth and threequarters of another. But as the king deemed these sums still unequal to the undertaking, he attempted to levy money by way of benevolence, a kind of exaction, which, except during the reigns of Henry III. and Richard II. had not been much practised in former times; and which, though the consent of the parties was pretended to be gained, could not be deemed entirely voluntary. The money levied by the fifteenth, was not to be put into the king's hands,

but to be kept in religious houses to be immediately refunded to the people, if the intended expedition should not take place. After these grants, the parliament was dissolved; that session had lasted nearly two years and a half, and had undergone several prorogations, a practice not very usual at that time.

The king passed over to Calais with an army of one thousand five hundred men at arms, and fifteen thousand archers, attended by all the chief nobility of England, and expecting to be soon reinforced by the troops of the duke of Burgundy, and by the count of St. Pol, constable of France, who was master of the principal towns on the Somme, and had promised to join the league. But on entering the French territories, Edward found that neither did the constable open his gates to him, nor the duke of Burgundy bring him the smallest assistance on account of his armies being employed in wars on the frontiers of Germany. This circumstance gave great disgust to the king, and inclined him to hearken to the advances repeatedly made him by Lewis XI. for an accommodation. A truce of seven years was concluded between them. Lewis stipulated to pay Edward immediately seventy-five thousand crowns on condition that he should withdraw his army from France, and promised to pay him fifty thousand crowns a year during their joint lives. It was added that the Dauphin, when of age, should marry Edward's eldest daughter. In order to ratify this treaty, the two monarchs agreed to have a personal interview at Picquigny near Amiens, where a close rail was drawn across the bridge, with no larger intervals than would allow the arm to pass, a precaution against a similar accident to that which befel the duke of Burgundy, in his conference with the Dauphin at Montereau. Lewis bestowed pensions to the amount of sixteen thou-



sand crowns a year on several of Edward's favourites.

The most honourable part of this treaty for Lewis XI. was the stipulation for the liberty of queen Margaret, who was still detained in custody by Edward. Lewis paid fifty thousand crowns for her ransom, and she passed the remainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy till the year 1482, when she died, after having acted the most conspicuous part on the stage of the world by her manly courage and energy, and by her undaunted spirit in adversity; she had neither the mild virtues nor the weaknesses of her sex, and had she been a prince, she would be reckoned among the most illustrious of the age.

*Ann. 1478 to 1481.*

The duke of Clarence, however important his services had been in deserting Warwick at the battle of Barnet, had never been able to regain the king's friendship, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with the earl, and Edward waited only for an opportunity to give vent to his resentment. He began by attacking the duke's friends, in hopes that the imprudent openness and violence of his temper would betray him into measures which might be the grounds of a capital accusation. In these circumstances, the king hunting one day in the park of Thomas Burdet of Arrow, a friend of the duke, killed a white deer, which was a great favourite of the owner. Burdet, vexed at the loss, broke into a passion, and wished the horns of the deer in the belly of the person who had advised the king to commit that insult upon him; upon this innocent expression of a natural resentment, he was brought to trial; the judges and jury were found servile enough to condemn him for this pretended offence, and he was

publicly beheaded at Tyburn. About the same time, John Stace, an ecclesiastic, more learned in mathematics and astronomy than was usual at that time, and much connected with the duke, as well as with Burdet, was brought to his trial for the imaginary crime of necromancy, and was condemned, put to the torture, and executed.

The duke of Clarence, indignant at these acts of tyranny, was open and loud in justifying the innocence of his friends, and in exclaiming against the iniquity of their prosecutors. The king, highly offended with his freedom, or using that pretence against him, committed him to the tower, summoned a parliament, and tried him for his life before the house of peers. He was accused of arraigning public justice by maintaining the innocence of men who had been condemned in courts of judicature, and of inveighing against the iniquity of the king, who had given orders for their prosecution. Edward appeared personally as his brother's accuser, and pleaded the cause against him. But a sentence of condemnation, even when this extraordinary circumstance had not taken place, was in those times a necessary consequence of any prosecution by the court or the prevailing party; and the duke of Clarence was pronounced guilty by the peers. The only favour which the king granted him after his condemnation, was to leave him the choice of his death; and by a barbarous allusion to his passion for Malmesey, or rather to counteract by ridicule the impression of such an atrocious deed, it was spread about, that, according to his choice, he had been drowned in a butt of Malmesey; and what is more extraordinary is, that this vulgar tale, as incredible as ridiculous, and unsupported by any proofs, has been adopted by almost all the historians. The duke left two children by the elder daughter of the earl of Warwick, a son created

an earl by his grandfather's title, and a daughter, afterwards countess of Salisbury.

*Ann. 1482.*

Lewis XI. without regard for the treaty of Picquigny, contracts the Dauphin to the princess Margaret, daughter of Maximilian of Austria, and to prevent the effects of Edward's revenge, he succeeds by a proper distribution of presents in the court of Scotland, to incite James to make war upon England. The duke of Gloucester was sent immediately to that country, at the head of an army; he took Berwick, and obliged the Scots to accept of a peace, by which they resigned that fortress to England. This success emboldened the king to think more seriously of a French war; but while he was making preparations for it, he was seized with a distemper, of which he expired on the 9th of April 1483, in the forty-second year of his age and twenty-third of his reign; a bad and vicious prince, destitute of all virtues; but brave, capable of activity, vigour, and enterprise in great emergencies. Besides five daughters, he left two sons; Edward prince of Wales his successor, then in his thirteenth year, and Richard duke of York, in his ninth.

EDWARD V. Seventeenth King from the  
Conquest.

[Son of Edward IV ; born 1470 ; succeeded his father, April 9, 1483 ; conveyed to the tower May following ; deposed June following ; was never crowned ; his fate, nor the date of his death have never been completely ascertained.]

*Ann. 1483.*

In the last years of Edward IV. his authority was often employed in restraining some court intrigues which arose from the perpetual rivalry between two parties ; one, consisting of the queen and her relations, particularly the earl of Rivers her brother, and the marquis of Dorset her son ; the other composed of the ancient nobility, who envied the sudden growth and unlimited credit of that family. At the head of this latter party, were the duke of Buckingham and the lords Hastings, Howard, and Stanley. All the other barons who had no dependence on the queen, adhered to the same interest ; and the people in general, from their natural envy against the prevailing power, favoured the cause of these noblemen. The late king, foreseeing the consequences of such animosities, took care in his last illness to summon together several of the leaders on both sides, and, by composing their ancient quarrels, to provide as far as possible for the future tranquillity of the government. After expressing his intentions, that his brother the duke of Gloucester then absent in the north, should be entrusted with the regency, he recommended to them peace and unanimity during the tender years of his son, and engaged them to embrace each other, which

they did with all the appearance of the most cordial reconciliation ; but he had no sooner expired, than the jealousies of the parties broke out afresh, and each of them applied separately to the duke of Gloucester, and endeavoured to acquire his favour.

The young king, at the time of his father's death, resided in the castle of Ludlow, under the care of his uncle, the earl of Rivers, the most accomplished nobleman in England, and the best entitled, by his talents and abilities still more than by nearness of blood, to direct the education of the young monarch.

The queen, anxious to preserve over her son that ascendant which she had long maintained over her husband, wrote to the earl of Rivers that he should levy a body of forces, in order to escort the king to London, to protect him during his coronation, and to keep him from falling into the hands of their enemies. The opposite faction foresaw that the tendency of this measure was to perpetuate their subjection under their rivals, and they vehemently opposed a resolution which they represented as the signal for renewing a civil war in the kingdom. The duke of Gloucester was provoked at the ambition of the queen, who attempted to usurp the government, but being sensible that the most profound dissimulation was requisite for the success of his views, he redoubled his professions of zeal and attachment to that princess, and on pretence of pacifying the quarrel, declared against all appearance of an armed power, which might be dangerous and was no wise necessary. The queen trusting to the sincerity of his friendship, and overawed by so violent an opposition, recalled her orders to her brother, and desired him to bring up no greater retinue than should be necessary to support the state and dignity of the young king.

The duke of Gloucester meanwhile reached Northampton, where the king was hourly expected, and resolved to await his arrival under colour of conducting him in person to London. The earl of Rivers apprehending that the place would be too narrow to contain so many attendants, sent his pupil forward by another road to Stony-Stratford, and came himself to Northampton, to pay his respects to the duke of Gloucester. He was received with the greatest appearance of cordiality, and passed the evening in an amicable manner with Gloucester and Buckingham; he proceeded with them next day to join the king; but as he was entering Stony-Stratford, he was arrested by orders from the duke of Gloucester. Sir Richard Gray, one of the queen's sons, and Thomas Vaughan, who possessed a considerable office in the king's household, were put under a guard, and all the prisoners were instantly conducted to Pomfret. The young king, struck with grief and terror at this act of violence committed on his nearest relations and friends, burst out into complaints and tears; but Gloucester approaching him, fell upon his knees, made the strongest professions of loyalty and affection to his person, assured him that what had been done was for his preservation; and said every thing in his power to dry the tears and dispel the terrors of the helpless prince. He conducted him to London, which they entered on the 4th of May. The duke riding bareheaded before his nephew, and calling to the multitude, "Behold your king."

The people were extremely rejoiced at this revolution, and Gloucester was received in London with the loudest acclamations. But the queen no sooner received intelligence of her brother's imprisonment, than she foresaw that her own ruin, if not that of all her children, was finally determined; she, therefore, fled into the sanctuary of Westminster with

the five princesses and the young duke of York, and she resolved to await there the return of better fortune. Gloucester represented to the privy council both the indignity put upon the government by the queen's ill-grounded apprehensions, and the necessity of the young prince's appearance at the ensuing coronation of his brother ; he proposed accordingly to take him by force from the sanctuary ; but the archbishops of Canterbury and York protesting against the sacrilege of this measure, it was agreed that they should first endeavour to bring the queen to compliance by persuasion, and when she heard that force, in case of refusal, was threatened by the council, she tenderly embraced her son, bedewed him with her tears, and bidding him an eternal adieu, delivered him with many expressions of regret and reluctance into their custody.

The duke of Gloucester being the nearest male of the royal family capable of exercising the government, seemed entitled by the customs of the realm to the office of protector ; and the council not waiting for the consent of parliament, was induced to invest him with that high dignity. This council decided also that the king should be lodged in the tower, the place from which the kings in those times, commonly rode in state to Westminster on the day before their coronation ; and the 22d of June was the day appointed for that ceremony. Gloucester having so far succeeded in his views, no longer hesitated in removing the other obstructions which lay between him and the throne. He easily obtained the consent of the duke of Buckingham and of lord Hastings, to put to death the earl of Rivers, and the other prisoners, without any trial or form of process, and orders were accordingly issued to cut off the heads of all the prisoners confined in Pomfret Castle. He afterwards easily persuaded Buckingham, that it was equally impossible

to keep the queen for ever at a distance from her son, and to prevent her from instilling into his tender mind the thoughts of retaliating by like executions the sanguinary outrages committed on her family; that the only means of obviating the effects of her revenge, was to put the sceptre in the hands of a man, of whose friendship the duke might be assured, and whose years and experience taught him to pay respect to merit and to the rights of the ancient nobility; that the same necessity which had carried them so far in resisting the usurpation of the queen's family, must justify them in attempting to procure, by national consent, a new settlement of the succession. To these reasons he added offers of great private advantage to the duke of Buckingham, and thus obtained from him a promise of supporting him in all his enterprises. Hastings, to whom the same proposals were made, rejected them with horror, and professed himself immovable in his allegiance and fidelity to the children of the late king. His death was, therefore, resolved on by the protector.

On the very day when the prisoners of Pomfret were murdered, the protector summoned a council in the tower, and repaired thither at nine o'clock in the morning with the most cheerful countenance, and indulged himself in familiar conversation with some of the counsellors. He then left the council as if called away by other business, and desired that his absence might not interrupt the debates; but soon after returning with an angry and inflamed countenance, he asked them what punishment those deserved that had plotted against his life? Hastings replied, "that they deserved the punishment of traitors." "These traitors," cried the protector, "are the sorceress, my brother's wife, and Jane Shore, his mistress, with others their associates." The counsellors looked on each other with amazement. "Certainly, My



Lord," said Hastings, "if they be guilty of these crimes, they deserve the severest punishment." "If?" cried the protector, with a furious voice, "dost thou answer me with *If*? I tell thee that they have conspired my death, and that thou, traitor, art an accomplice in their crimes." He then struck the table with his hand, armed men rushed in at the signal; Hastings was seized; "I arrest thee for high treason," resumed Gloucester, turning to him, "and I swear by St. Paul, that I will not dine before your head is brought me." He was accordingly hurried out, and beheaded on a timber log which lay in the court of the tower. Two hours after, a proclamation well penned and very accurately drawn up, was read to the citizens of London, enumerating his offences, and palliating the suddenness of his punishment. A merchant observed on the occasion, that the proclamation was certainly drawn before hand by the spirit of prophecy. But this remark, which was very much talked of, did not prevent the protector from committing as prisoners in different chambers of the tower, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, lord Stanley, and other counsellors, who seemed the less inclined to concur in his ambitious schemes.

Gloucester having thus got rid of those he most feared, summoned Jane Shore to answer before the council for sorcery and witchcraft; and as no proofs could be produced against her, he directed her to be tried in the spiritual court for her adulteries and lewdness. As this charge was too notorious to be denied, she pleaded guilty, and was accordingly condemned to walk barefoot through the city, and to do penance in St. Paul's church in a white sheet with a wax taper in her hand before thousands of spectators. She lived above forty years after this sentence, reduced to the most extreme wretchedness.

The duke of Gloucester no longer made a secret of his personal pretensions to the crown, and he grounded them on the invalidity of Edward's marriage with the queen, as previous to it he had paid his addresses to lady Eleanor Butler, daughter to the earl of Shrewsbury, and had been privately married to her by Stillington, bishop of Bath, who informed Richard of the secret, as it is recorded by Philip de Comines, reckoned among the most exact historians of that time.—(See his *Memoirs*, liv. 5. p. 151.) The cotemporary Chronicle of Croyland, (p. 567,) is more express: “Ostendebatur per modum supplicationis in quodam rotulo pergaminī, quod filiū regis Edwardi erant bastardi, supponendo illum precontraxisse cum quadam domina Alienora Boteler antequam reginam Elizabeth duxisset uxorem; atque insuper, quod sanguis alterius fratris sui Georgii ducis Clarentiæ fuisset attinctus; ita quod hodie nullus certus et incorruptus sanguis linealis ex parte Richardi ducis Eboraci poterat inveniri, nisi in persona dicti Richardi ducis Gloucestriæ. Quo circa supplicabatur ei in fine ejusdem rotuli *ex parte Dominorum et communitatis regni ut jus suum in se assumeret.*

Thence it results evidently that Richard's claim to the crown was founded on the illegitimacy of Edward's children, and that a convention of the nobility, clergy, and people invited him by a formal petition or supplication to accept the crown on that title. There now remains no possibility of questioning any of these facts, as since the publication of David Hume's *History of England*, the roll of parliament which ratified the above convention and confirmed the bastardy of Edward's children has been at last discovered, and is now printed in the *Parliamentary History*, vol. 2.

These transactions were the more important to elucidate, as all the historians, deceived by sir

Thomas More's account of these events, have asserted, that Richard employed doctor Shaw, a venal preacher, to declare to the people from the pulpit, that his own mother Cecily, duchess of York, a princess of a spotless character, still alive, had been an adultress; that her two eldest sons, Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence, were spurious; that she had given no other legitimate child to her husband than the duke of Gloucester, and that Richard gained the crown by that sermon, and by a speech of the duke of Buckingham to the same purpose, which induced only some of the meanest apprentices, incited by the protector's and Buckingham's servants, to cry with a very feeble voice, "*God save king Richard.*" A tale so gross, and still more absurd than atrocious, could not have passed even on the mob; how could Richard have expected to pave his way to the crown by tainting the fame of his mother? Who had heard of her guilt? and if guilty, by what curious proof could he have evinced how she came to stop the career of her intrigues just in time to leave not the least doubt of his own legitimacy, which was too much connected with that of his brother's to be tossed and bandied about before the multitude. These improbabilities which never existed, should have prevented sir Thomas More and all the historians from countenancing imputations of such palpable falsehood against Richard, who, far from being capable of aspersing so shamefully the character of his mother, at the time alluded to behaved to her with the greatest respect and filial tenderness, as appears from the following letter, the original of which is among the Harleian Manuscripts in the Museum, No. 2236, art. 6. It is from Richard to his mother:

"Madam: I recomaunde me to you as hertily as  
"is to me possible, beseching you in my most  
"humble and affectuouse wise of your daly blessing

“ to my singuler comfort and defence in my nede ;  
 “ and, Madam, I hertily beseche you, that I may  
 “ often here from you to my comfort ; and suche  
 “ newes as be here, my servaunt Thomas Bryan  
 “ this berer shall show you, to whome please it  
 “ you to geve credence unto. And, Madam, I  
 “ beseche you to be good and graciouse lady to my  
 “ lord my chamberlayn to be your officer in Wilt-  
 “ shire in suche as Colinbourne had : I trust he shall  
 “ therin do you good servyce, and that it plesse you  
 “ that by this berer I may understande your pleasur  
 “ in this behalve. And I pray God sende you th’  
 “ accomplishment of your noble desires. Written at  
 “ Pountfreit, the third day of Juyn, with the hande  
 “ of your most humble son

RICARDUS, REX.”

It appears also from Rymer’s *Fœdera*, that the  
 very first act of Richard’s reign is dated from  
*quadam altera camerâ juxta capellam in hospitio*  
*Dominæ Cecilie ducissæ Eborum*. Is it possible  
 to believe that when Richard wrote to his mother  
 the letter of the 3d of June, and held his first  
 council at her house, he had publicly accused her of  
 adultery ?

Thomas More’s authority, weakened by such  
 erroneous accounts on that point, may appear in-  
 sufficient to give credit to another accusation, the  
 most capital of all, which, though less improbable  
 than the former, and generally admitted by the  
 historians, is not better ascertained. It relates to  
 that scene truly tragical, the murder of the two sons  
 of Edward IV.

David Hume says, from no other authority than  
 that of Thomas More, “ that Richard gave orders  
 “ to sir Robert Brakenbury, constable of the tower,  
 “ to put his nephews to death ; that on his refusal,  
 “ he was ordered to resign the keys and govern-  
 “ ment of the tower for one night to sir James

“ Tyrrel; that this gentleman choosing three associates, Slater, Dighton, and Forest, came in the night time to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged, and sent in the assassins, while he himself staid without; that finding the young princes in bed, and fallen into a profound sleep, they, after suffocating them with the bolster and pillows, showed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stairs under a heap of stones; that in the following reign, these circumstances were all confessed by the authors who were never punished for the crime; and that under the reign of Charles II. when there was occasion to remove some stones, and to dig in the very spot mentioned as the place of their first interment, the bones of two persons were there found, which, by their size, exactly corresponded to the age of Edward and his brother, and were buried under a marble monument by orders of king Charles.”

This last circumstance, which appears more conclusive than it is in reality, was unknown to Thomas More, and was first published by a modern historian, White Kennet, bishop of Peterborough, who died in 1728; and is quoted by David Hume. As to the narrative of Thomas More, its inaccuracy is completely proved by some circumstances related in it, and omitted by his transcribers, perhaps on account of their improbability. He says for instance, that Richard, before he left London, had taken no measure to accomplish the assassination; “ but on the road, his mind misgave him, that while his nephews lived he should not possess the crown with security. Upon this reflection, he dispatched one Richard Greene to sir Robert Brakenbury, lieutenant of the tower, with a letter and credence also, that the same sir Robert in any wise should put the two children

"to death, &c. &c.; that on his refusal, the page "proposed James Tyrrel," whom, says Thomas More, he there made a knight, &c. &c.

It is difficult to crowd more improbabilities and errors together than are comprehended in this short narrative, observes Mr. Horace Walpole in his *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of Richard III.* "Who can believe, if Richard meditated the murder, that he took no care to sift Brakenbury before he left London? Who can believe that he would trust so atrocious a commission to a letter? And who can imagine that on Brakenbury's non-compliance, Richard would have ordered him to cede the government of the tower to Tyrrel for one night only, the purpose of which had been so plainly pointed out by the preceding message?" And had such steps been taken, could the murder itself have remained a problem? However, Thomas More himself is forced to confess in this very narration, *that the deaths and final fortunes of the two young princes have, nevertheless, so far come in question, that some remained long in doubt, whether they were in Richard's days destroyed or no.* This is confirmed by lord Bacon in the following terms: "Neither wanted there even at that time secret rumours and whisperings (which afterwards gathered strength, and turned to great trouble) that the two young sons of king Edward IV. or one of them (which were said to be destroyed in the tower) were not, indeed, murdered, but conveyed secretly away, and were yet living. (*Reign of Henry VII. p. 4.*) And all this time, it was still whispered everywhere that at least one of the children of Edward IV. was living." (*Ibid. p. 19.*)

As to the virtuous Brakenbury, it appears from Rymer's *Fœdera*, that he was appointed constable of the tower July 7th, that he surrendered his

patent March 9th of the following year, and had one more ample granted to him. It may be supposed that this renewal took place to prevent his disclosing what he knew of a murder in which he had refused to be concerned. But is it probable that such an honest and worthy man, of whom Richard stood in awe, would have laid down his life in that usurper's cause as Brakenbury did, being killed by Richard's side at Bosworth. Be it as it may, these undeniable facts can never agree with the pretended resignation of the keys and government of the tower, pretended to have been made for one night by Brakenbury to sir James Tyrrel, who, far from having been knighted for this horrid service, as is reported by Thomas More, was not only knighted before, but master of the king's horse, a considerable officer of the crown, and in that situation had walked at Richard's preceding coronation. This important fact cannot be contested, as it results from a most curious and authentic monument lately discovered, the coronation roll of Richard III., wherein several deliveries of parcels of stuff are expressly entered as made to *sir James Tyrrel, knight, master of the hors of our sayd soverayn lorde the kynge*.

In that coronation roll there is another remarkable entry : " to Edward, son of late king Edward IV. for his apparel and array, that is to say, a short  
" gowne made of two yards and three quarters of  
" crymsy clothe of gold, lyned with two yards  
" three-fourths of blac velvet ; a long gowne made  
" of six yards of crymsyn cloth of gold lynned  
" with six yards of green damask, a doublet and a  
" stomacher made of two yards of blac satin, &c.  
" &c. besides two foot cloths, a bonnet of purple  
" velvet, and nine saddle housings of blue velvet,  
" gilt spurs, with many other rich articles and  
" magnificent apparel for his henchmen or pages."

Such are the quotations of that coronation roll taken from the original by Mr. Horace Walpole, who was gratified with the perusal of it by Mr. Chamberlain of the great wardrobe; it is in the highest preservation, written on vellum, and bound with the coronation rolls of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. There can no longer be any doubt but the deposed young king walked, or it was intended should walk at his uncle's coronation. It is no less obvious that these magnificent robes and trappings for a cavalcade could not be destined for a prisoner, and therefore, that Edward's sons were not at that period confined in the tower, but that they lodged in it, as, far from being at that time as it is now, a prison for state criminals, the tower was a royal palace, in which were ranges of buildings called the king's and queen's apartments, now demolished, as appears by a map engraven so late as the reign of queen Elizabeth; and it is a known fact, that their majesties did often lodge there, especially previous to their coronation. The queen of Henry VII. lay in there; queen Elizabeth went thither after her triumphant entry into the city; and many other instances might be produced.

As to the pretended confession of the murderers received and produced some years afterwards by Henry VII. when he wanted to prove that both the princes had been put to death by his predecessor, and therefore, that Perkin Warbeck, who gave himself out for the second of the brothers, and was believed so by most people, was an impostor; it must be observed, that no inquiry was made into the murder on the accession of Henry VII., it was not even mentioned in the very act of parliament that attainted Richard himself, though it would have been the most heinous aggravation of his crimes. No prosecution of the supposed assassins was thought of till eleven years afterwards on the



appearance of Perkin Warbeck, and even then, no regular prosecution was brought against them, no notice was taken of the nameless Richard's page, of Greene, of Slaughter, who guarded the princes, nor of the friar who was supposed to have buried them, though they could not be quite ignorant of what had happened. The confession, therefore, was not publicly made; in short, every step of this pretended discovery as it stands in lord Bacon's account of the reign of Henry VII., warns us to give no heed to it; "John Dighton," says he, "who, it seemeth spake best for the king, was fore-  
"with set at liberty." That Dighton was probably some low mercenary wretch, hired to assume the guilt of a crime he had not committed, and sir James Tyrrel, who never would confess what he had not done, was put out of the way on a fictitious imputation.

After so many proofs of the inaccuracy of all the historians on the fate of the two sons of Edward IV., it is hardly necessary to add a word on the supposed discovery made in the tower of the skeletons of the two young princes, in the reign of Charles II. nearly two centuries after their pretended murder. Two skeletons found in that dark abyss of so many secret transactions, with no marks to ascertain their age nor the time of their burial, can certainly verify nothing. As to believe that the bones of the two princes were found there, it must be first ascertained that both died there, which is the more difficult to elucidate, that by putting aside the disproved evidence of Thomas More, the accounts of the two other cotemporary historians, viz, the prior of Croyland and Polidore Virgil, do not amount as far as proving that any of the sons of Edward IV. died during the reign of Richard III. Croyland's Chronicle, after relating the particulars of Richard's coronation at York, says, "*Interim*

*et dum hæc agerentur, remanserunt duo prædicti Edwardi regis filii sub certa deputata custodia infra turrim Londoniarum.* It was advised by some in the sanctuary at Westminster, to convey abroad some of king Edward's daughters, *ut siquid dictis masculis humanitus in turri contingeret, nihilominus per salvandas personas filiarum, regnum aliquando ad veros rediret hæredes.* *Vulgatum est regis Edwardi pueros concessisse in fata, sed quo genere interitus ignoratur.*

Polidore Virgil, says, "In vulgus fama valuit  
"filios Edwardi regis, aliqua terrarum parte mi-  
"grasse, atque superstites esse."

In such a complete deficiency of admissible proofs on the murder of these young princes, if probabilities were to be attended to, those in favour of Richard would considerably overbalance in this respect those that have been urged against him. What stronger presumption for instance, than that which may be deduced from Richard's conduct in a parallel case, viz. towards the earl of Warwick, his nephew, the son of the duke of Clarence, his elder brother, who was also in his power, and had undoubtedly over him a priority of right to the crown, and a right which nobody was qualified to contest, since the act of parliament, which had declared the bastardy of Edward's children, (Parliament Hist. vol. 2. p. 385.) Clarence had been attainted; but so had been almost every prince who had aspired to the crown after Richard II.; and Richard III. whose father was the son of Richard earl of Cambridge, beheaded for treason, knew very well that no prince had ever been deprived of his right to the throne, by the attainder of his father. Yet, how did Richard III. treat this nephew, this competitor much more dangerous to him than any of Edward's sons, both utterly incapacitated by their acknowledged illegitimacy? He actually proclaimed the

young Warwick heir to the crown after the death of his own son, and ordered him to be served next to himself and the queen, as is asserted by John Rous, (p. 218,) a zealous Lancastrian and cotemporary writer. It is true that afterwards Warwick was set aside and confined to the castle of Sheriffhutton; but his life was spared, and his imprisonment did not take place till the plots of Richard's enemies thickening, he found it necessary to secure such as had any pretensions to the crown.

I will stop here this discussion, which would far exceed the limits of an abridgment, had it not been necessary to point out the grounds upon which my regard for truth and justice, has compelled me to contradict, on such important transactions, the accounts of the most respected historians. But if they have been unable to state the exact period of the death of Edward V. the same uncertainty does not exist as to the end of his reign, which necessarily took place at the time of his successor's coronation, viz. in the beginning of July 1483, or towards the end of June, as in the public acts, there is a deed of Edward V. dated June 17th, and the chronicle of Croyland says, that Richard having brought together a great force from the north, from Wales, and other parts, did, on the 26th of June, claim the crown; (3) *Se qui eodem die apud magnam aulam Westmonasterii in cathedram maritimoream intrusit.*

**RICHARD III. Eighteenth King from the Conquest.**

[Brother to Edward IV. ; born 1453 ; elected king on his nephew Edward V. being deposed, June 20, 1483 ; crowned at London, July 6, following ; and again at York, September 8 ; slain in the battle at Bosworth, aged 32 ; buried at Leicester.]

*Ann. 1483.*

It appears that the ambition of the queen, the preparation of an armed force under earl Rivers, her brother, the seizure of the tower and treasure, and the equipment of a fleet by the marquis Dorset, her son, gave Richard the first idea of assuming the crown for himself, and that he intended at first to keep it only until Edward V. should attain his majority. This presumption was deduced from his not having created his own son prince of Wales till after the bastardy of his brother's children was declared. The great regularity with which his coronation was prepared and conducted, and the extraordinary concourse of the nobility at it, had not at all the appearance of an unwelcome revolution accomplished merely by violence.

The first acts of Richard's administration were to bestow rewards on those who had assisted him in usurping the crown, and to gain those who he thought were best able to support his government. But the duke of Buckingham, both from the importance of his services and the power of his family, was best entitled to his favours. That nobleman was invested accordingly with the office of constable ; he received a grant of the estate of Hereford ; many other dignities and honours were conferred

upon him ; but he never was satisfied, and formed new demands every day. Perhaps Richard, disgusted with his insatiability, or being sensible of the danger which might ensue from conferring such an immense property on a man of so turbulent a disposition, raised difficulties about the execution of the grants he had already made to the duke of Buckingham. However this may be, it is certain that soon after Richard's accession, the duke was induced to form a conspiracy against him, and to espouse the cause of the house of Lancaster. He cast his eyes towards the young earl of Richmond as the only person who could free the nation from the tyranny of the present usurper.

Henry earl of Richmond was at that time detained in a kind of honourable custody by the duke of Brittany. He was the grandson of John the First, duke of Somerset, who was himself grandson of John of Gaunt by a spurious branch, but legitimated by act of parliament. That John duke of Somerset had left only one daughter, Margaret, who married Edmund earl of Richmond, half brother of Henry VI. and son of sir Owen Tudor and Catherine of France, relict of Henry V. and she bore him only one son, who received the name of Henry, and was the present earl of Richmond. Though his claim, while any legitimate branch subsisted of the house of Lancaster, was inadmissible, the zeal of faction, after the death of Henry VI. and of his son prince Edward, had immediately conferred a weight and consideration upon it. On that account, Edward IV. pursued him in his retreat, and urged the duke of Brittany to deliver up this fugitive, who might be the occasion of future disturbances in England. The duke, averse to so dishonourable a proposal, would only consent that for the security of Edward, the young nobleman should be detained in custody ; and he received for

his safe keeping or subsistence an annual pension from England. Edward's anxieties with regard to Henry, being much increased towards the end of his reign, he made to the duke a new proposal, which covered under the fairest appearances the most treacherous intentions against Henry. He solicited to have him sent over to England, as he intended to unite him to his own family by a marriage with his daughter Elizabeth. This pretended scheme gained credit with the court of Brittany, and Henry was already delivered into the hands of the English agents, when a suspicion of Edward's real design being suggested to the duke, he recalled his orders, and thus saved Henry from the imminent danger which hung over him.

These symptoms of permanent jealousy in the reigning family of England gave more credit to Henry's pretensions, and made him the object of general favour on account of the persecutions to which they exposed him, and these dispositions acquired more energy in proportion as Richard's conduct became more odious; the nation seemed to look upon Henry as the only person from whom she could expect her deliverance. Notwithstanding these propitious circumstances, as many obstacles could still lie in his way to the throne, the duke of Buckingham and his friends were of opinion that the only means of overturning the present usurpation, was to unite in favour of the earl of Richmond, the two opposite factions of York and Lancaster, by his marrying the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of king Edward. The queen dowager had too many motives of revenge against Richard, not to be easily prevailed to approve that scheme. She not only consented to the proposed marriage, but required Richmond's oath that it should be celebrated as soon as he should arrive in England, and she secretly borrowed a sum of

money, which she sent to him for levying as many foreign troops as possible, promising to join him on his first appearance with all the friends of her family. The plan was also secretly communicated to the principal person of both parties in all the counties of England, and a wonderful alacrity appeared in every order of men to forward its success.

Such an extensive conspiracy could not long escape the vigilance of Richard; he immediately put himself in a posture of defence by levying troops, and being informed that the duke of Buckingham was at the head of his enemies, he summoned him to appear at court in such terms as seemed to promise him a renewal of their former amity. But the duke, well acquainted with the treacherous character of Richard, replied only by taking arms in Wales, and gave the signal to his accomplices for a general insurrection. At that very time, there happened to fall such heavy and incessant rains, as exceeded any known in the memory of man; the high swelling of all the rivers prevented Buckingham joining his associates, and his Welchmen, partly moved by superstition at this extraordinary event, partly distressed by famine in their camp, fell off from him; on finding himself thus deserted by his followers, he put on the disguise of a peasant, and took shelter in the house of Banister, an old servant of his family; but being detected there, he was brought to the king at Salisbury, and instantly executed; the other conspirators who had taken arms, hearing of the duke of Buckingham's fate, immediately dispersed, several fell into Richard's hands, of whom he made some examples. The marquis of Dorset, the bishop of Ely, and many others had the good fortune to make their escape beyond sea. The earl of Richmond and his friends, who had set sail from St. Maloes, carrying on board a body of five thousand foreign troops, having been

driven back by a storm, did not appear on the coast of England, till after the dispersion of all his friends, and found himself obliged to return to the court of Brittany.

Richard's power being strengthened by this unsuccessful attempt to dethrone him, he summoned a parliament on the 23d January 1484, to have his right to the crown acknowledged, the bastardy of Edward's children solemnly declared, and his own son then a youth of twelve years of age, created prince of Wales. As all Richard's enemies were now at his feet, the parliament had no choice left but to adhere to the victor; they even granted him for life the duties of tonnage and poundage.

The king, to reconcile the nation to his government, passed some popular laws, and adopted several measures tending to the same object; but being sensible that the only circumstance which could give him a permanent security, was to gain the confidence of the Yorkists, he paid court to the queen dowager with such fascinating address, and made her such earnest protestations of his sincere good will and friendship, that this princess, tired of confinement and despairing of any success from her former projects, ventured to leave her sanctuary, and to put herself and her daughters into the hands of Richard. As soon as he had gained that point, he carried still farther his views for the consolidation of his throne. He had married Ann, the second daughter of the earl of Warwick, and widow of the prince of Wales, son of Henry VI. murdered after the battle of Barnet. This princess had borne him one son, who died about this time, and her own death took place so soon after that of the young prince, that Richard was believed to have carried her off by poison; though this conjecture was never supported by any proof. Be it as it may, Richard considering that the earl of Richmond



could never be formidable, but from his projected marriage with the princess Elizabeth, the true heir of the crown, he intended, by means of a papal dispensation, to marry himself this princess, and by that incestuous alliance, to remove the chief danger which threatened his government. The queen dowager, eager to recover her lost authority, consented to this marriage. She even united so far her interests with those of Richard, that she wrote to all her partizans, and among the rest to her son the marquis of Dorset, desiring them to withdraw from the earl of Richmond, an injury which the earl could never afterwards forgive.

While the dispensations were expected from Rome for the celebration of the king's nuptials, all the exiles flocked to the earl of Richmond in Brittany; and exhorted him to hasten his attempt for a new invasion, and to prevent the marriage of the princess Elizabeth, which must prove fatal to all his hopes. The earl was the more sensible of the urgent necessity of following this advice, that in this very moment his personal safety was in the greatest danger, out of a secret negotiation entered into between Richard and the court of Brittany, he made accordingly his escape to the court of France, where he had the good fortune to find Charles VIII. the present king disposed to give him countenance and protection. The ministers of that monarch being desirous of raising disturbances to Richard, secretly encouraged the earl in the levies which he made for the support of his enterprises upon England. The earl of Oxford, whom Richard's suspicions had thrown into confinement, having made his escape, here joined Henry, and inflamed his ardour for the attempt, by the favourable accounts he brought of the dispositions of the English nation.

The earl of Richmond set sail from Har-

fleur in Normandy, with two thousand men only and, after a navigation of six days, he landed at Milford-haven in Wales, without opposition. The Welch, who regarded him as their countryman, and who had been already prepossessed in favour of his cause by the duke of Buckingham, soon joined his standard. Richard, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken post at Nottingham, in the centre of the kingdom, from whence he purposed to fly in person on the first alarm to the place exposed to danger. In the mean time he had given commissions to different persons in the several counties whom he empowered to oppose the enemy. Of the two officers who were entrusted with his authority in Wales, one immediately deserted to Henry, and the other made but feeble resistance, and the earl advancing towards Shrewsbury, received every day some reinforcement from his partizans.

The greatest danger of Richard proceeded less from the zeal of his open enemies than from the infidelity of his pretended friends. Scarcely any nobleman of distinction was attached to his cause, except the duke of Norfolk; those who feigned the most loyalty, were only watching for an opportunity to betray and desert him. The two rivals at last approached each other at Bosworth, near Leicester, on the 22d of August 1485, Henry at the head of six thousand men, Richard with an army of above double the number. Lord Stanley, who commanded above seven thousand men, took post not far from the hostile camp, and made such dispositions as enabled him on occasion to join either party, and as soon as the battle began, he appeared in the field, and declared for the earl of Richmond. This measure had a proportional effect on both armies; it raised to the utmost degree the ardour and courage of Henry's soldiers, and threw those of

Richard's into dismay and confusion, but without weakening his intrepidity ; sensible of his desperate situation, he cast his eye around the field, and desecrating his rival at no great distance, he drove against him with fury, in hopes that either Henry's death or his own would decide the victory between them. He killed with his own hands all those who attempted to stop him in his way, and was now within reach of Richmond himself, who did not decline the combat ; when sir William Stanley breaking in with his troops, surrounded Richard, who, fighting bravely to the last moment, was overwhelmed by numbers and slain. His body was found in the field, covered with dead enemies and all besmeared with blood ; it was thrown carelessly across a horse, and carried amidst the shouts of the insulting spectators to Leicester, where he was buried in the Gray-friars church. It is reported, that his crown being found by one of Henry's soldiers on the field of battle, it was immediately placed on the head of the victor, while the whole army, as if inspired with one voice, cried out, " Long live king Henry."

Thus ended the bloody reign of Richard III. and with him, the race of the Plantagenet kings, who had been in possession of the crown during the space of three hundred and thirty years. Thus ended also the contests between the houses of York and Lancaster, by which most of the ancient families of the kingdom were totally extinguished.

To have an exact idea of Richard's character we must very little depend on the accounts of the historians, as the cotemporary ones blindly transcribed by their successors, being desirous to pay their court to Henry VII. were all very eager to represent his rival as the most execrable monster, no less deformed in his mind than in his body. Truth seldom agrees with those exaggerated expressions which should never stain the pages of any history.

As lies can never become more venerable from their antiquity, we must put aside the testimonies of all the historians, when they are expressed with such acrimony and unsupported by proofs ; though consecrated in some measure by three centuries of general credulity, and made popular by their having been adopted and put into action in the immortal scenes of Shakespeare. The best tragedies never were reckoned among historical documents ; we must then recur to facts either proved by authentic records, or at least acknowledged true by the cotemporary writers of all parties. Thus we shall find that Richard III. to uncommon talents, presence of mind, and capacity, united the most intrepid courage ; that his inordinate ambition made him an usurper, and his usurpation a bloody tyrant ; that once entered in a career of crimes, he committed all those which he thought necessary to procure him the possession of the crown, and would not have hesitated to commit any that could forward his ambitious views ; but we will not deduce from it that being not a fool, he has committed many other horrid crimes, which, far from answering any of his purposes, should have proved very obnoxious to his credit and authority by the general detestation they would have raised against him. As to his bodily deformity, we will infer from the authority of John Rous, the antiquary of Warwick, who saw Richard there in the interval of his two coronations, that this prince was of a small size, that his face was rather short, and his right shoulder higher than the left ; but we will not conclude from it, that *he was the ugliest man that ever existed*, and we will still less admit the foolish tale of his being born with hair and teeth, to intimate how careful Providence was when it formed a tyrant, to give due warning of what was to be expected.

The statutes of Richard III. were the first issued in the English language according to an act of parliament passed in January 1483; they were also the first that were printed. All the former statutes were in Latin or in French, and kept only in writing.

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*General Observations on that Period.*

There is no doubt that the constitution, government, and laws, were very much improved during the course of this period, and that "of all the states in the world," as says Philip de Comines, "England was the country where the commonwealth was best governed, and the people least oppressed." (Liv. 5. c. 18.)

Though slavery had sensibly decreased, some examples occur, of men, particularly prisoners of war, being bought and sold like cattle; and of predial slaves, commonly called villans, annexed to and transferred with the lands on which they dwelt. A writ, issued in chancery at that time, prohibited the sheriffs to levy any tax on the villans of lords and prelates, for paying a part of the wages of the knights in parliament, because all the goods in the possession of villans were the property of their lords.

The members of the house of peers always attended parliament at their own expence, but as soon as the knights of shires or smaller freeholders not summoned by particular writs, were excused from appearing personally in parliament, and permitted to appear by representatives, the elections, wages, and privileges of these representatives became the subjects of various regulations. A law was made in 1429, (8th Henry VI.) enacting, "that

“ the knights of the shires shall be chosen in every  
“ county by people resident in the same counties,  
“ whereof every one of them shall have free land  
“ or tenement to the value of forty shillings by the  
“ year at least, above all deductions;” a revenue  
equivalent to twenty pounds of the present money.  
The freeholders were directed to chuse *two of the  
fittest and most discreet knights resident in the  
county*; and an act of 1444, (23d Henry VI.) per-  
mitted them to elect *notable esquires, gentlemen by  
birth and qualified to be made knights*; which required  
freehold estates of forty pounds a year equivalent  
to four hundred pounds at present. By the same  
writs, the electors in cities and boroughs were  
directed to chuse the fittest and most discreet per-  
sons, freemen of, and residing in, the places for  
which they were chosen, and no others upon any  
pretence; they were also directed by the parlia-  
mentary writs, to chuse not only the wisest but the  
stoutest men (*potentiores ad laborandum*), that they  
might be able to endure the fatigue of the journey  
and of close attendance.

The number of boroughs that sent members to  
parliament were still unsettled, and seems to have  
depended very much on the pleasure of the sheriffs  
of the several counties; which evinces that the  
constitution of the house of commons was yet far  
from perfection, and in particular, that the number  
of its members was not ascertained. Thence the  
frequent recurrence of regulations against many  
abuses of which the sheriffs were guilty in conduct-  
ing elections and making their returns.

The custom of representatives receiving wages  
from their constituents began with the elections,  
from a principle of common equity without any  
positive law; and for more than a century these  
wages were sometimes higher and sometimes lower;  
but at length in the reign of Edward III. they were

fixed to four shillings a day for a knight of a shire, and two shillings a day for a citizen or burgess. Four shillings at that time were equivalent to two pounds at present. Those who did not attend from the first day to the last day of the session, received no wages. The deputies and their necessary servants were secured in going to, attending upon, and returning from parliament, but not in the interval of one session and another. Their privileges and pay commenced as many days before the opening of a session, as enabled them to travel from their own house to the place where the parliament was to meet, and as many days after, as enabled them to return home. When the commons imagined that any of their members had been deprived of their privileges, they applied by petition to the king or house of lords, or to both, for redress.

The clergy had, in this period, a great preponderance in parliament, not so much owing to their superiority of learning as to their constant attendance to the sessions, where besides all the archbishops and bishops, twenty-five abbots, two priors, and sometimes many more, were summoned, which made the spiritual lords generally double in number than the temporals, many of whom were frequently engaged in warlike expeditions into France or Scotland.

The sessions of parliament were still very short; many of these assemblies had only one, and few, above two or three sessions. The last parliament of Richard II. which may also be called the first of Henry IV. sat only one day (September 30, 1399); and in that short session deposed one king, and placed another on the throne. The two longest parliaments in this period, met under Henry IV. (1407) and Henry VI. (1446,) the former of which sat in three sessions, one hundred and fifty-nine days, and the latter in four sessions, one hundred and seventy-

eight days; and it is to be remarked, that both the deputies and their constituents complained of the length of these parliaments; the deputies for being so long detained from their business and diversions, and the constituents on account of the wages of their representatives. The wages, for example, of the two knights of the shire of Cumberland, in the first of these parliaments amounted to eighty pounds eight shillings, equivalent to eight hundred and four pounds at present, as besides the one hundred and fifty-nine days that the three sessions lasted, they were allowed wages for forty-two days for their three journies.

None of the princes of the house of Lancaster ventured to impose taxes without consent of parliament; their doubtful or bad title became so far of advantage to the constitution. The rule was then fixed, and could not safely be broken afterwards by more absolute princes. The privileges of the people were also more regarded than during any former period. Though the regal powers and privileges were not distinctly ascertained, and therefore depended in some measure on the character of the prince, and the situation of public affairs; it may be affirmed, that the sovereign was very far from being possessed of arbitrary power; that the distinction between an absolute and a limited monarchy was very well known. It was also understood that the kings of England could neither repeal nor change any standing law of the land by their own authority without the consent of parliament. However, it is certain that they frequently ventured to dispense with some of these laws, and to grant permission to particular persons or societies to violate them with impunity; and there is little room to doubt that money was paid for these dispensations. From the little notice taken of it in parlia-



ment, it may be concluded that they were more inclined to overlook such spurious branches of the king's revenue than to supply its deficiencies by new grants or taxes. The immense extent and value of the crown lands, with their various feudal prestations in the reign of William the Conqueror, and some of his successors, were abundantly sufficient to support them in affluence and splendour, with little or no dependence on their subjects; but succeeding princes, by engaging in unnecessary and expensive wars; by liberal, profuse, imprudent grants; by founding and endowing monasteries, &c. &c. diminished the royal demesnes to such a degree, that the victorious Henry V. was reduced to the hard necessity not only of pawning his crown, his jewels, and his furniture, but alienated so many of the crown lands, that in the last year of his reign the whole produce of the remainder yielded only fifteen thousand and sixty-six pounds eleven shillings and one-penny, equivalent to one hundred and fifty thousand one hundred and seventy-one pounds eleven shillings and ten-pence. As to the several customs and duties on merchandize, the account delivered to Henry V. in 1421, by William Kenwolmersh, dean of St. Martin, treasurer of England, evinces that their total amount was only of forty thousand six hundred and eighty-seven pounds nineteen shillings and nine-pence half-penny, equivalent to four hundred and six thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine pounds seventeen shillings and eleven-pence. It appears also by the same account, that the whole stated revenue of the crown amounted to no more than fifty-five thousand seven hundred and fifty-four pounds ten shillings, equivalent to five hundred and fifty-seven thousand five hundred and forty-five pounds eight shillings and six-pence half-penny,

From that curious account it is likewise evident that Henry V. after paying his guards and garrisons, the expenses of his civil government, the salaries of the collectors of his customs, the pensions to dukes, earls, knights, &c. &c. which were charges on his ordinary revenue, had only three thousand five hundred and seven pounds thirteen shillings and eleven-pence half-penny, equivalent to thirty-five thousand and seventy-seven pounds, remaining to defray all the expenses of his household, his wardrobe, his works, his embassies, and various other charges, while the only expense of his household amounted to about twenty thousand pounds, equivalent to two hundred thousand pounds at present. (*Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, vol. 1. p. 237.*) The consequence was, that the kings, in this period, lived in difficulties, and died deeply involved in debts, (Edward IV. alone excepted, as he succeeded to an enemy and an usurper, whose debts he did not pay,) which accounts for the various expedients, some of them neither honourable nor lawful, which those princes employed to procure money. Edward IV. for example, not only carried on trade like a common merchant, but also repeatedly solicited from his subjects charities, which he called benevolences, or free gifts.

The feudal military services, always performed with reluctance, gradually decreased in efficacy, and, at this time, were not to be depended upon for raising an army, especially for a foreign expedition, which obliged the king to raise the best part of his army by entering into indentures with his own dukes, earls, barons, and knights, and even with foreign chieftains, who engaged to serve him on such an expedition, for a specified term, with a stipulated number of men at arms, and archers, at a fixed price. The daily pay of a duke was equiva-

lent to seven pounds of the present money, of an earl to three pounds, of a baron to two pounds, of a knight to one pound, of an esquire or man at arms to ten shillings, and of an archer to five shillings. (Rymer.) The expense of an army of this kind soon exhausted all the revenues of the crown, and almost all the resources of the country. But in cases of invasion or rebellion, the king summoned all the military tenants of the crown, to attend him in arms, and sent letters to the archbishops, bishops, &c. &c. to arm and array all their clergy to defend the church and kingdom against the enemies of God and the king. By these means considerable armies were soon raised at a very small expense; but if they were formidable by their number, they were far from being so in point of discipline.

Among the prerogatives of the kings of England at that period, was that of pressing not only sailors and soldiers, but also artificers of all kinds, and even musicians, goldsmiths, and embroiderers into their service.

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## APPENDIX.

*The most important Occurrences belonging to this Period are proved by the Testimony of the following Historians.*

**For the Reigns of Henry IV. Henry V. and Henry VI.**

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| <p>Rymer—Vol. 8. from p. 110 to 219. 353. 462. 610. 627. 715. 738.<br/>—Vol. 9. from p. 19. to 258. 300. 626. 762. 776. 895.—Vol. 10. from p. 13. to 190. 299. 300. 326. from p. 421. to 472. 611. 612. from p. 764. to 796.—Vol. 11 p. 53. 101. 108. 206. 214. 275. 344. 361.<br/>Monstrelet—Vol. 1. p. 4. Vol. 2. from p. 8. to 136. Vol. 3. p. 6, 7. 21.<br/>Dugdale—Vol. 1. p. 150, 151. Vol. 2. p. 171.<br/>Walsingham—From p. 361 to 400.<br/>Hall—From p. 21 to 160.<br/>Buchanan—Lib. 10.<br/>Cotton—From p. 406 to 462. from p. 544 to 668.<br/>Holinshed—From p. 543 to 661.<br/>Le Laboureur—Liv. 27. chap. 23, 24. 27. Liv. 35. chap. 6. 10.</p> | <p>St. Remi—Chap. 4. and from chap. 58 to 118 passim.<br/>Stowe—From p. 364 to 394. 409. 412. 415.<br/>Grafton—From p. 500 to 653.<br/>Polydore Virgil—From p. 466 to 540.<br/>Burnet's Collection of Records—Vol. 1. p. 593.<br/>Parliamentary History—Vol. 2. p. 168. 263. and passim.<br/>Fleetwood's Chronicon Pretiosum—p. 52.<br/>Fabian Chron.—Ann. 1447. 1458.<br/>Juvenal des Ursins—passim.<br/>Statutes at Large—7 Henry IV. chap. 15. 8 Henry VI. chap. 7. 15 Henry VI. chap. 2. 23 Henry VI. chap. 6. 39 Henry VI. chap. 1. 1 Edward IV. chap. 1.</p> |
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**For the Reigns of Edward IV. Edward V. and Richard III.**

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| <p>Habington—From p. 431 to 475 passim.<br/>Grafton—From p. 658 to 791 passim.<br/>Worcester—From p. 489 to 511.<br/>Hall—From p. 186 to 241 passim.<br/>Holinshed—From p. 664 to 703.<br/>Rymer—Vol. 11. p. 110 from p. 581 to 654. 806, 807. Vol. 12. p. 17.<br/>Croyland—From p. 531 to 568.<br/>Cotton—From p. 670 to 700.<br/>Fabian—From p. 215 to 221.<br/>Monstrelet—Vol. 3. p. 95. and following.<br/>Polydore Virgil—From p. 513 to 537.<br/>Comenges—Liv. iii. chap. 4, 5, 6, 7. Liv. iv. c. 3, 8, 9, 10.</p> | <p>Parliamentary Hist.—Vol. 2. p. 332, and following.<br/>Stowe—From p. 423 to 430.<br/>Leland—Vol. 2. p. 505.<br/>Thomas More—From p. 481 to 501.<br/>Kenner—p. 551.<br/>Dugdale's Baron—Vol. 1. p. 168, and following.<br/>Lord Bacon's Hist. Reign of Henry VII.—From p. 4 to 19 passim.<br/>The Coronation Roll of Richard III.<br/>Horace Walpole—Historic Doubts, passim.<br/>J. Rous, the Antiquary of Warwick—passim.<br/>Manuscripts in the Museum, No. 2236. Art. 6.</p> |
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## MEMORANDA

*Of some principal Events which occurred in the other States of Europe from the Year 1399 to 1485.*

A. D.

1402 Bajazet is defeated by Tamerlane, and the power of the Turks almost entirely destroyed.

1409 Council of Pisa, where the Anti-popes Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. were deposed, and Alexander V. proclaimed Pope; but as that council was not generally acknowledged, this proclamation had no other effect than that of adding one Anti-pope to the two already existing; and the schism ended only at the council of Constantia in 1414.

1414 Pope John XXIII. opens the council of Constantia on the 5th of November. It was attended by twenty-two cardinals, twenty archbishops, ninety-two bishops, one hundred and twenty-four abbots, and more than eighteen thousand persons belonging to the clergy, while the number of those who composed the retinue of the princes, counts and noblemen who had convened there from all parts of Europe, was above sixteen thousand.

The famous Heresiarch John Huss, who had been summoned by the Pope before the council to answer for his dogmas, came with a safe conduct from the emperor, and attended by many Bohemian deputies who were to protect him, but they could not prevent his being arrested soon after his arrival at Constantia, and thrown into the prison of the Dominican friars.

1415 The fathers of the council of Constantia, notwithstanding the opposition of the cardinals, declare as a fundamental maxim, that the council is superior to the Pope, and that the only means to re-establish peace and concord in the church, was to compel the three Popes to give in their resignation. John XXIII. acquiesces to the decision, and proclaims his acquiescence by a bull, but soon after he retires secretly to Schaffouse, where he enters into a solemn protest against all that was done by the council; he then undertakes to

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fly for refuge to Avignon, but is stopped in his way, brought back near Constantia, and put under the guard of the elector Palatine, his most inveterate enemy. On the 29th of May, the council declares him to be a schismatic, squanderer of the properties of the church, rebellious to the authority of an œcumenical council, and guilty of a thousand enormities; he is accordingly deposed from the Papal See, and put again into the hands of the elector Palatine, who sends him in confinement to Heidelberg.

John Huss persisting obstinately in his dogmas, is condemned as an heretic by the council, and burnt alive on the 15th of July 1415. Jerome of Prague, his friend and colleague, experienced the same fate.

- 1417 Pope Benedict XIII. summoned, and not appearing before the council, is condemned by the unanimous votes of the fathers of the council as a perjurer, heretic, schismatic, inimical to the religion and the church, and is deposed from the Papal See on the 26th of July 1417. In the month of November following, the conclave was assembled for the nomination of a new Pope, and in three days, the cardinal Colonna was unanimously elected and proclaimed on the 11th of November 1417, under the name of Martin V.

- 1418 Horrid massacres at Paris executed by the populace at the instigation of the friends of the duke of Burgundy, called *les Bourguignons* against those of the constable of Armagnac, whom they called the *Armagnacs*. In the ~~three first days~~, which began the 12th of June 1418, the populace broke into the prisons, and besides the constable, chancellor, and six bishops, three thousand five hundred persons, many of them eminent for their rank and character, were put to death. After the triumphant entry of the queen and duke of Burgundy into Paris, the massacre was renewed, and about fourteen thousand persons, including five thousand women, were slain. In the next year and on the 10th of September, the duke of Burgundy was assassinated on the bridge of Montereau, by the attendants of the Dauphin, who had appointed that place for a conference with the duke.

- 1419 A crusade is proclaimed by Pope Martin V. against the followers of John Huss, called *Hussites*,

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and composed of the greatest part of the inhabitants of Bohemia, a nation, which being naturally courageous and warlike, was rendered almost invincible by their fanaticism.

1426 A new crusade being proclaimed against the Hussites, an army of nearly two hundred thousand men is levied to invade Bohemia, and is completely defeated by the Hussites, with an immense slaughter. That bloody war, which caused the ruin of Bohemia, and of all the neighbouring provinces, lasted till the year 1436, when it was reduced to a mere controversy quarrel, which two or three pacific divines definitively settled to the utter satisfaction of all parties. The principal tenets of that sect were, that all religious acts and ceremonies should be performed in the common language; that the sacrament should be received under the two forms; that the clergy should be divested of their immense possessions and submit for all criminal cases to secular tribunals.

1438 A great quarrel arises between the council of Basil and Pope Eugenius IV.; Eugenius transfers the council to Ferrara, under pretence of facilitating their conferences with the ambassadors of the emperor of Constantinople, John Paleologue, for the union of the Greek and Latin churches. The council suspends Eugenius from his pontifical functions, on his non-appearance and pretended incorrigibility. All the catholic countries divide between the council and the Pope, except Germany, which keeps an exact neutrality.

1439 The council of Basil deposes Pope Eugenius IV. as an heretic relapse, a schismatic, rebellious to the universal church, and squanderer of its possessions. Eugenius transfers the council from Ferrara to Florence, and settles the union between the two churches with the emperor. Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who had given up his duchy to his son, is elected to the Papal See by the council of Basil, and takes the name of Felix V. but this Anti-pope found no adherents, as the principal powers of Europe had then resolved to observe a strict neutrality.

1440 The art of printing first invented in 1430, by Laurentius of Haerlem, who practised it with wooden

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- types or engraved boards, is improved at Strasbourg in 1440, by John Guttenberg, a noble citizen of Mentz; it was still farther improved at Mentz, by the famous John Faurt and Peter Schœffer, who had bought the secret of Guttenberg, who employed cut metal types; they carried the art to perfection by inventing the mode of casting the types in matrices.
- 1446 The Vatican Library founded at Rome.
- 1449 Pope Eugenius IV. dies, and is succeeded by Nicolas V. The Anti-pope Felix V. gives up all his pretensions to the papacy, and puts an end to the schism.
- 1453 Constantinople is taken by storm on the 29th of May, by Mahomet II., which ends the eastern empire one thousand one hundred and twenty-three years from its foundation, by Constantine the Great.
- 1454 Otto Guwick, a German, invents the air pump.
- 1480 The title of Czar begins to be added to that of the sovereigns of Russia, and that of Majesty to be given to the kings.

*A List of the principal Learned or Illustrious Men  
who lived during that Period, pointing out the  
Year of their Death.*

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| 1402 John Gower, the poet.   | 1464 Nicolas de Cusa, celebrated philosopher, mathematician, and theologian.   |
| 1409 Nicolas Flamel, a natural philosopher, who had been the agent of the Jews, had got an immense fortune, which he pretended to have acquired by his having discovered the philosopher's stone.  | 1468 Enguerrand de Monstrelet, historian.  |
| 1443 Leonard Aretin, the Italian historian.  | 1464 Angelo de Cattho, physician, astronomer and chaplain of Lewis XI.   |
| 1458 Alain Chartier, the ugliest and most learned man of his age. It is he who being found asleep by Margaret of Scotland, a great admirer of his merit, received a kiss from that princess, who was then married to the Dauphin of France, the eldest son of Charles VII. | 1471 Thomas a Kempis, an Augustine monk, author of the pious book known under the title of "Imitation of Jesus Christ."    |
| 1464 Eneas Silvius, historian.   | 1470 Alexander Hege de Geh, who restored literature in Germany; the celebrated Erasmus of Rotterdam was one of his pupils. |
| 1453 Muller, historian.  | 1471 Antony of Palermo, called <i>Panormita</i> ; he sold his house to buy a manuscript of Livy.                           |
|  | 1473 John Juvenal des Ursina, historian.   |



*A List of Cotemporary Princes, with the Dates  
of their Death.*

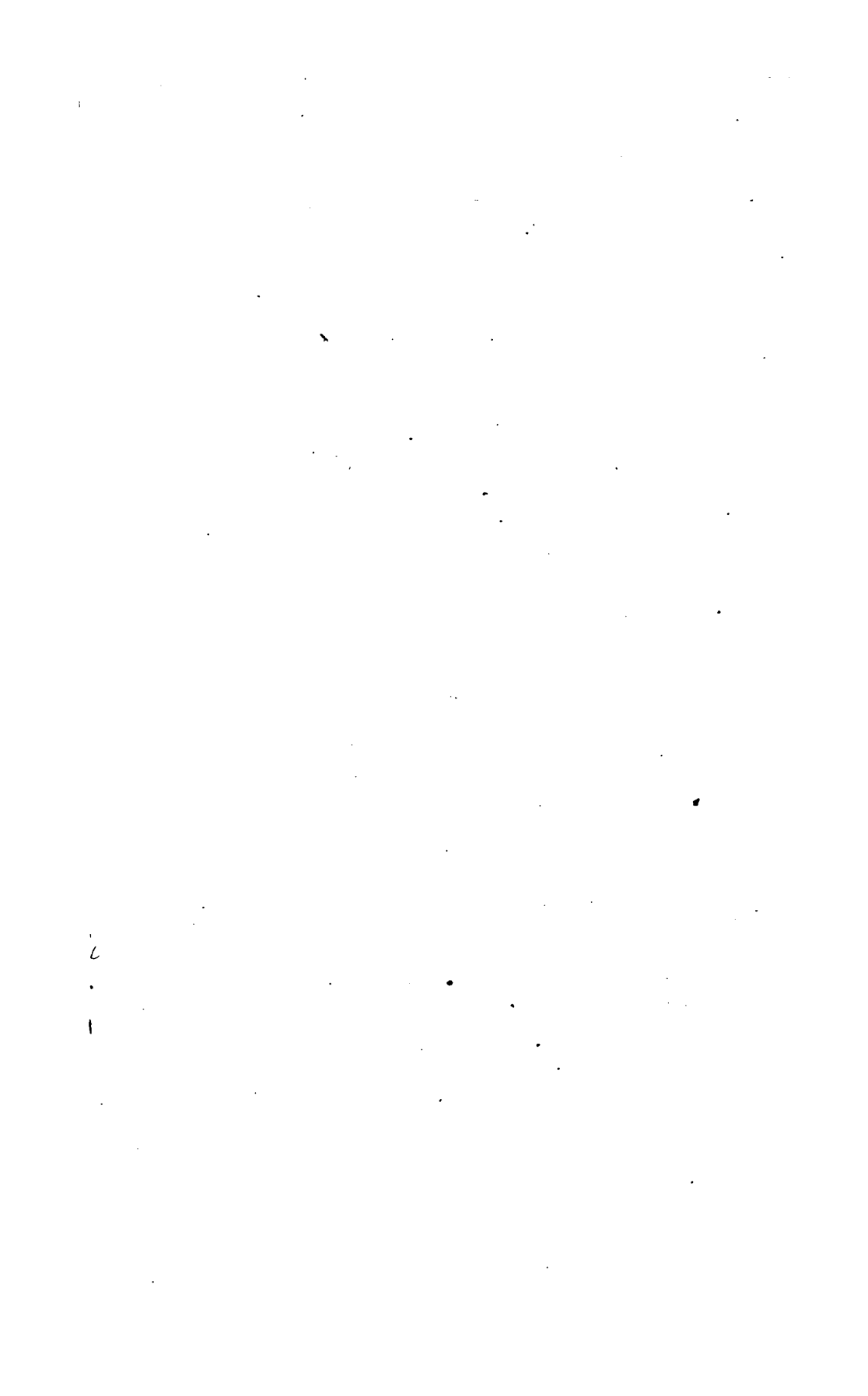
<i>Popes.</i>		Constantine Paleologue, the last of the eastern emperors	1453	Mahomet II.	1481	Christophus III.	1448
Innocentius VII.	1406			Bajazet II. abdicates in	1512	Charles Canut, son	1471
Gregory XII.	1409	<i>Kings of Spain.</i>					
Alexander V.	1410	<i>Emperors of the West.</i>		John II.	1454	Interregnum from	1471
John XXIII. abdicates in	1415	Robert	1410	Henry IV.	1474	to	1483
Martin V.	1431	Sigismund	1437	Ferdinand	1516	John	1513
Eugenius IV.	1447	Albert of Austria	1439	Isabella	1504	<i>Kings of Poland:</i>	
Nicolas V.	1455	Frederic III.	1493	<i>Kings of Portugal.</i>		Ladislas Jagellon	1434
Calixtus III.	1458	<i>Kings of France.</i>		John	1433	Ladislas, king of Hungary	1444
Pius II.	1464	Charles VI.	1422	James	1433	Casimir IV.	1492
Paul II.	1471	Charles VII.	1461	Edward	1438	<i>Dukes of Russia.</i>	
Sixtus IV.	1484	Lewis XI.	1483	Alphonse V.	1481	Gregory Demitrowitz	1406
Innocentius VIII.	1492	Charles VIII.	1498	John II.	1495	Bazil Bazilowitz	1413
<i>Emperors of the East.</i>		<i>Turkish Empire.</i>		<i>Kings of Scotland.</i>		<i>Czar.</i>	
Emanuel II.	1418	Soliman	1409	James I.	1437	Iwan Bazilowitz	1505
J. Paleologue,	1444	Moses	1413	James II.	1460		
		Mahomet I.	1422	James III.	1488		
		Amurat II.	1451	<i>Kings of Denmark and Sweden.</i>			
				Eric IX. abdicates in	1438		

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

# ERRATA.

- Page 5 line 6. *for* or blue, called in the Celtic language Brith, *read* blue ; *painted* or *party-coloured*, in the Celtic language, was expressed by the word *Brùb*. (Owen's Dictionary, voc. Bri.)
- 26 2. *for* Actius *read* Actius
- 126 20. *for* 1060 *read* 1066
- 172 17. *for* pas *read* par
- 212 2. *for* into the castle *read* in the castle
- 285 14 and 15. *for* and troops *read* and his troops
- 298 29. *for* Ely *read* Eli
- 323 11. *for* were required *read* was required
- 353 13. *for* of which *read* of whom
- 376 1. *for* which he thought *read* as he thought
- 380 25. *for* literaire *read* littéraire
- 384 1. *for* availing in their way *read* availing themselves in their way
- 402 28. *for* should be *read* would have been
- 406 15. *for* on *read* in
- 452 last line. *for* coheir *read* coheirsch





1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and the role of the accounting department in ensuring the integrity of the financial statements. It also highlights the need for regular audits and the importance of transparency in financial reporting.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze financial data, including the use of statistical models and the importance of data quality. It also discusses the challenges of data collection and the need for robust data management systems.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the importance of communication and collaboration between different departments in the organization. It emphasizes the need for clear communication channels and the importance of working together to achieve common goals.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the importance of risk management and the need to identify and mitigate potential risks. It also highlights the importance of having a clear risk management strategy and the need for regular risk assessments.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the importance of innovation and the need to stay up-to-date with the latest trends and technologies. It also emphasizes the importance of having a clear innovation strategy and the need for regular innovation reviews.

6. The sixth part of the document discusses the importance of sustainability and the need to integrate environmental, social, and governance (ESG) factors into the organization's operations. It also highlights the importance of having a clear sustainability strategy and the need for regular sustainability reports.

7. The seventh part of the document discusses the importance of employee development and the need to provide training and development opportunities for all employees. It also emphasizes the importance of having a clear employee development strategy and the need for regular employee reviews.

8. The eighth part of the document discusses the importance of customer satisfaction and the need to provide excellent customer service. It also highlights the importance of having a clear customer service strategy and the need for regular customer feedback.

9. The ninth part of the document discusses the importance of financial performance and the need to monitor and improve the organization's financial health. It also emphasizes the importance of having a clear financial performance strategy and the need for regular financial reviews.

10. The tenth part of the document discusses the importance of overall organizational performance and the need to ensure that all departments are working together to achieve the organization's goals. It also highlights the importance of having a clear overall performance strategy and the need for regular overall performance reviews.

